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Presented by
Mrs C. A. Taylor
April 1892

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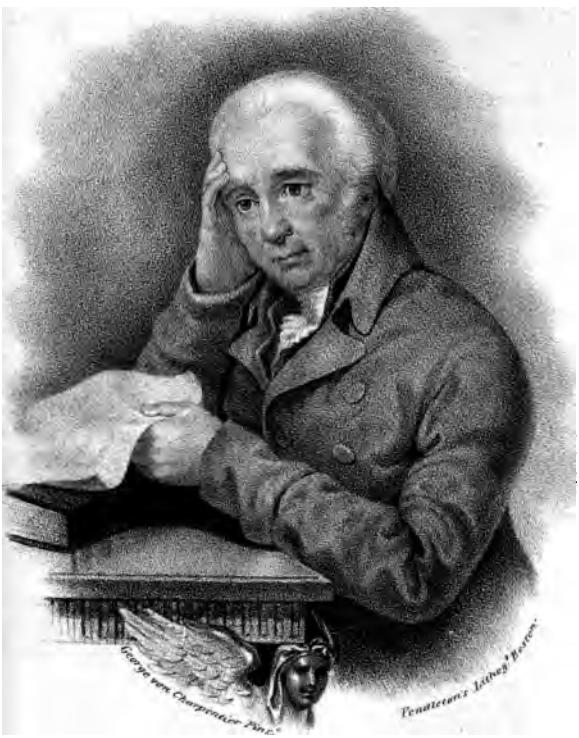

DR FRANZ VOLKMAR REINHARD.

BOSTON.
Peirce & Parker.

MEMOIRS

AND

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY PEIRCE AND PARKER,
No. 9 Cornhill.
NEW YORK:—H. C. SLEIGHT.
Clinton Hall.
1832.

Printed by Parker.

MEMOIRS

AND

CONFESSIONS

OF

FRANCIS VOLKMAR REINHARD, S. T. D.

COURT PREACHER AT DRESDEN.

FROM THE GERMAN.

BY OLIVER A. TAYLOR,
Resident Licentiate, Theological Seminary, Andover.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY PEIRCE AND PARKER,
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PREFACE.

THE first object of this work is to make the public acquainted with the life and character of the learned, pious, and eloquent F. V. Reinhard of the last generation, for more than twenty years Chief-Court Preacher at Dresden. It is divided into two parts. The first comprises his letters or confessions, in which he gives an account of his education for the sacred ministry, and a general criticism of his sermons. These letters were occasioned by a review of some of his works in the Hall. Lit. Zeit., and written during the winter evenings of 1809–10. They have passed through several editions, of which, however, I have seen only the first. While translating Reinhard's *Plan of the Founder of Christianity*, I became much interested in these letters; and deeming them an excellent piece of autobiography, I thought they would constitute an acceptable present to the public; and having consulted a friend, upon whose judgment I relied, who had also read them, and ascertained the coincidence of his views with my own in these respects, I prepared them for the press. In the mean time, I felt the need of mak-

ing some additions to them by way of completing the view they give of their author; and hence, added the memoirs or second part. The translation of the confessions was not a difficult task, but the second part has cost me much and severe labor. It has been drawn chiefly from Böttiger's *Delineation of Reinhard's Character;* a pamphlet rich in materials, but written by an antiquary in an intricate, parenthetical style and full of learned allusions. It contains matter, however, drawn from other sources, interwoven with ideas of my own, the whole of which has been arranged in the order which struck me as the best.* The likeness which accompanies the volume was originally taken from a portrait of Reinhard, drawn three years before his death, by his brother-in-law Von Charpentier. This portrait was considered an excellent one. It supposes Reinhard to be sitting in his study. With one hand he sustains his head, while with the other resting on the Bible, he holds a manuscript, containing a train of thought deduced from the Scriptures, in meditating upon which, the light of faith bursts in upon his mind, and he is supposed to exclaim, "Yea, thou art the truth." The look in the original is said to be very striking and destitute of all ambiguity. Much of its expressiveness was lost in the first process of reducing the portrait and engraving it.

I am aware that the work will, after all, furnish but an imperfect account of Reinhard; especially so, as all the biographies which have been written of him in Germany, are more or less imperfect, time enough not having yet elapsed to permit many of his letters, directed as they were, to persons still on the theatre of action, to be brought from their

* Perhaps the reader should be informed, that I have not reduced the dollars named in the course of the work, to our own currency; and hence, that they express a little too much.

hiding-places. From what is said, however, the reader will readily perceive, that Reinhard was no ordinary personage. Few have been more respected or useful in life, or more sincerely and universally lamented in death. The news of his decease clad old and young with mourning, and called forth spontaneous expressions of sorrow from almost every quarter. He appears to have been equally conspicuous as a scholar, philosopher and Christian. He had no deformities or excrescences of any kind. He was well proportioned in every part, and constituted a harmonious whole. On prying into his character, we meet with no disappointment, nothing offensive. The more we examine it, the more we find to admire. To develop such a character unable as we are to penetrate the sacred interior of the mind, and forced to content ourselves with its external phenomena, is, of course though desirable, a difficult task. It is delightful, however, amidst the pain and disgust felt by every reader of biography, on discovering in its most exalted characters, unanticipated faults and defects, to find here and there one, which we can contemplate with pleasure, and examine with satisfaction, constantly cheered with new beauties and excellencies, and assured of something superior beyond.

My sole object, however, in this work, is not to make the public acquainted with Reinhard's character. From his confessions I fondly hope for some beneficial results to the cause of truth. Not that the views expressed in the ninth letter, which excited such commotion among Rationalists and others in Germany on the first appearance of this work, are new to our countrymen. The two principles there laid down have long been looked upon to a greater or less degree by Evangelical Christians among us, as the only ones in the case to which a consistent thinker can resort, as a third does not exist; and to reason as

Tzschirner has done, (see Note, p. 64,) is, as Reinhard justly remarks in a letter to Pölitz, a *petitio elenchi*, the contents of the Bible having nothing to do with the question. I refer to the main object for which these letters were written by Reinhard; which was, by pointing out the excellencies and defects of his own education, and by various hints, to show young candidates for the sacred ministry, the course they should take in preparing for it, as well as after they have entered upon the performance of its duties. Coming as these letters do, from one of the most distinguished preachers of his age, they must be deserving of attention in this respect. Will not some, on reading what is said in the sixth letter about eloquence, discover, that they have hitherto had wrong conceptions of it, and been unable even to define it? Will they not be compelled to admit, that they have often spoken in tones of thunder, when they should have spoken in tones of sympathy and tenderness; and by their manner excited strong suspicions of hypocrisy, when they thought themselves exhibiting the strongest proofs of sincerity? Will not some, on reading what Reinhard says about the study of the poets, find they have almost entirely neglected it, and hence, failed to use the best means possible, for cultivating susceptibility of emotion, without which, genuine eloquence cannot exist? And may I not hope, that they will hereafter follow his example, and apply themselves to Milton, Shakespeare, Cowper, and even the imperfect English translation of Klopstock's Messiah?—a work, which by its spirit throws more light upon some passages of the Gospels, than half the commentaries which have ever been written. And may not some when they read what Reinhard says of the importance of general literature to a preacher of the Gospel, find that they are quite deficient

in this respect? Those upon whom this work produces any such effects, will soon perceive, that little time enough is allowed the young disciple for a preparatory course, and that all systematic study should not be brought to a close, as it too generally is, as soon as a man is comfortably settled in the ministry. I hope that the motives which have dictated these remarks, will not be misapprehended. That they are well founded, those who reflect upon the subject, will, I fear, find too much reason to believe. I know the ambassador of the cross is not at liberty to turn aside into the field of literature, to pluck a single useless flower. With every branch of study, however, which bears upon the business intrusted to his hands, qualifies him to a greater or less degree, for detecting the sophisms upon which error is founded, and enables him to trace the truth back *through nature up to nature's God*, he should be intimately acquainted. No matter how ardent his imagination may be, or acute his reasoning powers. The greater his genius in these respects, the more necessary is it for him to have a thorough training, lest, through ignorance of the history of other men's thoughts, he suppose himself peculiarly favored of heaven, and become a dangerous fanatic. There is no possibility of a minister's being too skilful in reasoning, or in detecting the movements of the heart. Christianity addresses itself to the noblest faculties of the human soul, and unlike every other religion, challenges the most thorough and extensive investigation; and in no other way than by a constant exercise of all the faculties of the mind in seeking truth and practising it, can one be suitably qualified to act as a negociator between God and man. Amidst the glorious revivals with which we are blessed, is there no danger of our degenerating in this respect from our fathers, those giant minds and rigid students of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? But I tread

on sacred ground and am entering a field wide and alluring, which I must not venture to explore.

The Lord grant, that the light of truth may beam forth, until Atheism and infidelity, which fade away before it like dew before the sun, are banished from the earth, and Jesus Christ is worshipped as the God of the universe.

OLIVER A. TAYLOR.

Andover, Theological Seminary, March 12th, 1832.

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ERRATA.

Page 34th, 30th line, dele *s* from preparations.
Page 67th, last line, dele *every*.
Page 131st, 13th line for *do*, read *no*.
Page 149, 19th line, dele *upon*.

CONFESSIONS, &c.

PART I.

LETTER I.

Apology for these letters—Object of them—Reasons which induced the author to publish so many sermons.

My Dear Friend—

You in reality, then, take no offence at the number of my printed sermons, amounting as they do, to about thirty volumes. On the other hand, you wish to know by what means I have been enabled to produce so many worth perusal, and for this purpose, request me to give you a minute account of the education I received, preparatory to becoming a minister of the Gospel. I will comply with your request, but in such a manner, that what I impart to you, may also be given to the public. Indeed, you do not wish to confine my confessions, in this respect, to yourself. You naturally expect to find many things in what I say to you, which will be useful to those just entering upon the ministry, serve to guard them against various errors, and be of advantage to them in many ways. I will not deny that this may be the case. It is impossible for me to make such disclosures as you expect from me, without taking notice of the great defects of my homiletical education, and acknowledging the errors into which I have fallen;—without honestly telling you what there is in my sermons deserving of censure, and why I have not been able to approximate nearer to the perfect pattern of a sermon which lies in my mind. If I do so, from the account,

young preachers will, of course, be able to draw much valuable instruction. At least, it will not be my fault, if those who take my sermons for patterns, imitate the very things which they ought to avoid.

But, while I readily admit that the information you desire of me, may be of general use, I must confess it is not without struggles that I have brought myself to comply with your wishes. It is difficult, nay, almost impossible, to say much of one's self, especially before the world, without exciting a suspicion in the minds of people, that one thinks himself of great importance, and imagines himself and his little affairs worth the notice of the public. You know me too well not to pronounce me entirely free from every thing of the kind; but will others, less acquainted with me, do the same? Will not the whole thing appear to be the result of vanity and arrogance, and highly deserving reprehension?

You do not require me, however, to do what so many excellent men have done respecting themselves in a manner which met with the approbation of almost every reader,—to give a minute account of my whole life. In my confessions to you, therefore, I shall touch upon those circumstances merely, which may have exerted an influence upon my education as a minister of the Gospel. Every thing that does not properly belong to this subject, every thing that is disconnected with the business and science of preaching, or at most, seems calculated to excite a suspicion of my aiming at vain glory, I shall pass over in silence. You must be satisfied then, if, in the series of letters I write to you, you receive an account of the manner in which I became a preacher, and an impartial criticism of my own sermons. "Geratur," in the words of a man with whom I know not that I am worthy of any other comparison, let me say, "Geratur tibi mos, quoniam me non *ingenii* prædicatorem esse vis, sed *laboris* mei."*

You must expect nothing more from me to-day, than an account of the circumstances which induced me to publish so many volumes of sermons. Strictly speaking, it was never my intention to print any of my sermons; much

* Cicero in Bruto, c. 65, § 233.

less could I ever have thought of printing a whole library of them. I had preached as provost of the university church at Wittemberg for two years, when, in 1786, I permitted a collection of my sermons to be published. As I was then obliged to apply all my powers to other matters, I should never have done so, had it not been for the earnest importunities of my friends. Of the numerous sermons, however, which I then had by me, I published only sixteen in this collection, supposing that with these I should satisfy the desires of my friends, without being obliged to deviate altogether from my resolution, not to trouble the public with many sermons.*

Indeed, with the exception of the two which I delivered on being transferred from one station to another, the profits of which were to be applied to the establishment of a young ladies' school at Wittemberg, I printed but a single sermon during the six following years, though I preached in the mean time with unremitting diligence, at the above-named place, and had begun to do so with still greater zeal at Dresden. With none of the numerous requests which I received, to publish many sermons, did I comply; and it was not until 1793, when a new edition of my first volume was called for, that I added a second, which, like the first, comprised but sixteen sermons; which I thought would satisfy people, and be the last.

Soon afterwards, or in the year 1795, a proposal was made in the Imperial Advertiser,† and sustained by various reasons, that I should publish all the sermons I had delivered. To this proposal, however, ignorant as I was from what quarter it came, I should have paid little or no attention, and by it, hardly have been induced to change my original purpose, in regard to printing but a few sermons, if a circumstance had not occurred which almost obliged me to do so. My sermons were taken down as they were delivered. This was done by ignorant persons, who acquired their living by means of the sermons which they sent into the city and province. It is easy to imagine what a form my sermons in this way received.

* See the preface to the first edition of these sermons.

† The Reichsanzeiger.

I cannot deny that when some of these transcribed sermons first fell into my hands, I was exceedingly vexed. You may believe me, my dear friend, or not, but I could hardly recognize myself in them. I was astonished at the nonsense which was put into my mouth; and yet it was not in my power to prevent these transcripts from being taken, as the goodnaturedness of the readers made it too profitable a business for the transcribers to relinquish it. I was obliged, therefore, to choose between two evils, and either see my sermons brought into general circulation in a very garbled and corrupted state, or publish them myself, as they were originally delivered. As I had been requested to do the latter, and it appeared to be the only means left me for avoiding a thousand errors, so it appeared to me of the two evils to be the least; and hence, agreeably to the advice of my friends, I made choice of it.*

As soon as one collection of the sermons which I had delivered in 1795, made its appearance, I received urgent requests, not only in the Imperial Advertiser, but from various quarters, to continue printing them; and as the principal reason which induced me to publish the first, existed in regard to the others, so I was induced, rather than see my sermons circulating in a garbled and corrupted state, to accede to the importance of these requests. In the mean time, people continued to receive them with unanticipated favor, and from various quarters, I derived very positive evidence of their having been productive of good. Notice was taken of them even in foreign countries, and many of them were translated into other languages; and though I was more than once resolved to stop printing them, yet, partly out of compliance with public requests, and partly out of compliance with the wishes of friends made known to me in private letters, I was induced to deviate from my resolution; so that I have now printed all the sermons which I preached for a series of fifteen years, which constitute the number of volumes extant.

But enough for once. As soon as I get time for the purpose, my dear friend, I will come to what you particularly wish to know,—the character and course of my homiletical education. Farewell.

* See the preface to the first edition of the Sermons of 1795.

LETTER II.

Early education—Instructed by his father—Becomes attached to well-arranged sermons—Learns the ancient languages—Fond of poetry, but destitute of good poets—Gets hold of Haller.

My Dear Friend—

If you wish to know all the circumstances which exerted a decided influence upon my education for the ministry, you must accompany me far back into the years of my childhood. This is the only way in which I shall be able to give you a radical and historical account of my sermons,—to show you how they assumed the form they possess.

For the whole of my early education, I am indebted to my father, who was my teacher until my sixteenth year. John Stephen Matthias Reinhard,* a man whose name would always have been sacred to me, even if he had not been my father, was a minister at Vohenstrauss, a market town in the dukedom of Sulzbach. He was unanimously looked upon by all, as one of the best preachers in that region. He could not indeed rise entirely above the faults of his age. Agreeably to the custom then prevalent, he made choice of a particular method, and selected a general theme, upon which he treated in all its relations and extent, until another year commenced. His thorough education, however, deep knowledge of human nature, great experience, and vivacious delivery, introduced so many changes into his method, rendered his discourses so attractive, connected them so intimately and firmly together, and made them such a well arranged whole, that he was not only heard with uniform attention by his church, but listened to with pleasure by strangers; it being usual for many on their way to or from Prague, so to order their affairs as to stop on the Sabbath morning and hear him preach. Among the peculiar qualities for which his sermons were

* My father wrote his name Reinhart, but for reasons, a part of which he himself suggested, I thought it best to exchange the *t* for a *d*.

distinguished, may be named a strict and minute arrangement of every thing they contained. That this arrangement was perfectly natural, and obvious at first glance, you may infer from the fact, that, when a lad from ten to eleven years of age, I could remember it, and write it down upon paper on my return home. I did so, and, as I found the exercise pleased my father, for he usually examined what I had written, and corrected it whenever he found it wrong, I regularly continued this practice every Sabbath, until I had acquired such skill in this respect, that not a single topic escaped me.

The result was, as you may infer, that I early formed the conception of a sermon strictly arranged, and so disposed in regard to all its main parts, as easily to be retained in the memory,—a conception, accompanied with all the allurements of a paternal example, and so firmly fastened in my soul, as never again to be extirpated. From this time onward, every sermon was entirely lost to me, which either had no plan, or one which I was unable to comprehend; and this is the reason why most of the sermons which I afterwards heard in various places, presented me with no attractions.

Not less important or rich in results, was the instruction which I received from my father in the ancient languages. He was an excellent philologist, and read the ancients with feeling and a correct and lively apprehension of their sentiment. He did not seek at first to impart this feeling and such an apprehension, to me. On the other hand, when we commenced reading an ancient work together, his principal object was to increase my knowledge of the language, by entering into a philological explanation of every thing it contained. The other part of the task was left for another time. During the day he was engaged in the laborious duties of his office, but the evenings, after supper, he spent at home, taking enjoyment and repose in the bosom of his family. As on these occasions, he early discovered in me a susceptibility for conversation upon subjects of general utility and a serious character, so he began to devote the time which he spent with his children from eight o'clock in the evening to ten, almost exclusively to me, conversing with me upon such subjects as were

adapted to my age and attainments. It was on these occasions that that love was awakened in me for the study of the ancients which increased with after years, and remains with me still. It was his custom to converse with me upon some passage of an ancient work, especially in the Latin, (the Greek I was then unable to read.) These passages were generally selected from Virgil and Cicero, the two classics which he admired the most, and which we had begun to read together. In these exercises, nothing was said respecting philology. Our sole object was to discover in what the beauty, ingeniousness, greatness, and sublimity of the passage consisted; and these were developed by him with a fire which entered into my heart and early convinced me, that the ancients were the genuine masters of poetry and eloquence, and that we must learn of them and take them for models.

In the mean time, however, as regards my native language, I was quite deserted. As early as my ninth year indeed, I felt an inclination for poetry, which might have been strengthened, had there been any thing to strengthen it. Scarcely had I been able to read a single German poet with feeling, when my father lost his library, which was a valuable one for that time and place, in a disastrous fire, not a single leaf of it being saved. I, who had begun to hanker more and more after the German poets, was now confined to the Sulzbach Hymn Book, at this time a very miserable one, Canitz's poems, and Brockes'* metrical translation of Pope's Essay on Man. Accordingly, I read these books again and again, imitated the poetry, and tried to do for myself all I could. I had an obscure feeling, indeed, that they were far from being perfect. In short, I could never avoid thinking there was something far above them in point of excellence, and this, because my father had already pointed out to me something superior to them, among the ancients. Two years elapsed, however, before I was able to light upon any thing better in our own language; with reference to which it should be recollected, that the state of our literature had but just begun to improve, and that the Upper Palatinate was al-

* [For a notice of Canitz and Brockes, see Memoirs of Goethe, N. Y. 1824, p. 302, and p. 306.]

most entirely destitute of every thing which the authors of this improvement had already produced.

But now, my friend, I come to an event, which, though small in itself, was, in respect to my education, highly important, and rich in results. I had reached my thirteenth year, when my eldest sister was married to a young clergyman by the name of Schätzler. While on a visit to my father's, he discovered my inclination for poetry, and my lamentable destitution of good writers in this department, and presented me with the poems of Haller. It is in vain for me to attempt to express to you the joy and transport with which I read and devoured this poet. All at once the problem which had vexed me was solved. I now supposed myself to have found what I had sought for in my Brockes and Canitz, in vain. It was not long before I knew my Haller by heart. Of course, I imitated him; and, as every thing that I found in my admired pattern, struck me as beautiful, I was pleased with his provincialisms among the rest; as even then I was able to discover them. Indeed, I employed them in my own verses, and, in the midst of the Upper Palatinate, wrote as though I was a native of Berne.*

What however was this small error, in comparison with the immense advantage which I derived from Haller? His train of thought was rich and full of meaning, and every word of him took possession of my soul. I passed by nothing without the most careful examination, and dwelt with indescribable pleasure upon every line, always expecting to discover something more in it; and the numerous passages which I did not and could not understand, only served to exalt my reverence for the poet. They appeared to me to be divine expressions surrounded with a sacred obscurity, the meaning of which I thought would probably be unveiled to me at some future period. From this time onward, I became disgusted with every thing like prolixity, exuberance of language and tautology. How much soever pleasure other youths could

* [For notices of Haller, see Memoirs of Gœthe, p. 325; Rees' Cyclopœdia; and Pinacotheca Scriptorum Nostra Ætate Literis Illustrium, etc., Augustæ Vindelicorum, 1741, in Decad. IV. where a likeness of him is also to be found. He was a native of Berne, noted for his precocity, distinguished as a poet, and one of the most thorough and extensive scholars of his age.]

find in a certain fulness and luxuriancy of expression, and a play with brilliant images and well sounding phrases, in them I could find none. Haller made me so choice of my expressions, I may say, reduced me to such poverty in this respect, that, when there was no new thought to be uttered either different from the preceding or designed to render it more definite, I absolutely had not another word to say. When therefore, I reflect upon the influence exerted upon me by the poems of Haller, I am convinced, that my style derived its peculiarities particularly from them. That they made it too dry I am willing to admit. Haller naturally exerted a greater influence upon my reason than my imagination, and perhaps curbed the latter, far too much. About this time, I heard various strangers passing through the place, speak with great enthusiasm of Klopstock's Messiah, and praise various other German poets, particularly Hagedorn and Gellert;* but, living as I then was in a dark and wretched corner of Germany, for me to obtain any of these writers was a thing impossible. Consequently, Haller remained my all, until the death of my father entirely changed my future destination. Of this however another time. Farewell.

LETTER III.

Father dies—Goes to Regensburg—Gets hold of other poets—Notice of his instructors—Account of his studies—Admires Cicero—Reads French and Italian works—Makes verses.

My Dear Friend—

Under the guidance of my father, I had made considerable progress in the Latin language, and could express

* [For notices of Hagedorn and Gellert, as well as Klopstock, see the work already referred to, Memoirs of Goethe, pp. 313, 324, and 335.]

myself in it with some ease and correctness. In the Greek and in other things belonging to a preparation for an academical course of studies, I was quite deficient. This affected my father very deeply, and, as he had no more time to spare from the laborious duties of his office than he had hitherto devoted to me, which was always far too little, and he also readily acknowledged the superiority of a public education to a private one, he resolved to send me to the very same school where he had received his education, and of which he never spoke but in grateful terms,—to the *Gymnasium poeticum* at Regensburg. In so doing, he was certainly influenced by an obscure presentiment that he had not much longer to live; for he had been sick more or less for a year previous, and knew his condition too well not to feel that death was at hand. With all his zeal therefore, he immediately set about procuring a place for me at Regensburg. Only a few days before his exit, he was informed by letters, of the success of his efforts. Never shall I forget the indescribably serious look, modified indeed by a most heartfelt tenderness, with which he gave me the information, and fixed his eyes upon me for a long time in silence, prying as it were into my very heart, and uttering more than words could express. I was confounded, and finally stammered out the assurance, that I would do my utmost to equal his expectations. What expectations he had formed of me I knew full well. He did not conceal from me the fact, that he loved me in particular, and thought, as he used often to express himself, *he could make something out of me.* He received my assurance with looks of satisfaction and happiness, dismissed me without saying another word, and a few days afterwards was laid upon the bier.

Accordingly, in the autumn of 1768, being in my 16th year, I set out for Regensburg. My mother, who died of grief at the loss of my father, had furnished me with a few guilders, her six months' privilege as a clergyman's widow, not having then expired. These I was carefully to husband in order to a supply of my most pressing necessities, for a long time to come. But scarcely had I taken up my abode in Regensburg, before I disposed of almost

all this money at a bookseller's shop for some German poets, particularly Klopstock's Messiah, of which only the ten first books were then published. The last attracted me with an irresistible power which operated equally strong upon my imagination and my heart. In it, I discovered the German language in a richness, strength, and, I may say, magnificence, of which I had previously had no conception. In regard to sentiment, sublimity, and train of thought, what a resemblance there was between Klopstock, and my Haller, and how welcome therefore must the former have been to one, whose feelings had been excited and moulded by the latter! Hence, I read my Messiah so often, and with such interest, that in a short time I knew it by heart as well as I did my Haller. I was not led astray by him, however, like many of my young friends, into a love of pompous phrases and poetical nonsense. From such an error I had been carefully secured by Haller, and still more so by the study of the ancients, to which I now applied myself with all diligence.

And here with renewed gratitude I must make mention of a teacher. He is not honored indeed with a great name among the learned, nor has he written much; but yet he was thoroughly acquainted with philology, possessed of rare skill as a teacher, and a benevolence towards his pupils which gained for him every heart. I refer to Frederic Augustus Töpfer, who was then *conrector* of the Gymnasium, into whose class I was put, after having been examined by George Henry Martini, the rector. To this man I am particularly indebted for the influence which the reading of the ancients exerted upon my education, and entire mode of thinking, and the benefit they proved to me in regard to facility of expression. He was intimately acquainted with all the niceties of the Latin language, and labored to teach his scholars how to express themselves in it not only with correctness, but even with elegance. Having corrected the first exercise that I wrote in the class, he told me in a friendly way, that he saw I had some skill, but that I had not yet got my Latin stays on, and therefore must in future attend more implicitly to his instructions. His method, when he made us translate out of the German language into the Latin, was to select

for us the most excellent Latin phrases. These were the pure idioms of the language, which, being chosen with the greatest care furnished him with an occasion to make us thoroughly acquainted with its genius; at the same time, he always carried us back to fundamental principles, and the reasons why a thing should be so and not otherwise, and in this way, not only accustomed us to grammatical correctness in both languages, but to a critical mode of thinking upon matters of this kind. This he accomplished to a still greater degree, when we read and translated the ancients; for in this case, he was careful to see, that the author translated was rendered as well as possible, and with taste. To show us how this was to be done, he put into our hands, not translations of the Latin and Greek authors, (for then we had none worthy of imitation,) but those German writers who had imitated the ancients with the greatest success. To these he drew our attention, while he endeavored to show us what use we were to make of translating from the ancients. Accordingly, it was he who for this purpose, first put Wieland's writings into my hands, so far as they were then published, and Ramler's Odes; and happy was the result of this course and highly satisfactory the use we made of his instructions, in this respect, whenever we translated from the ancient Greek and Roman authors. For those of his scholars who obtained his particular confidence, (and I was soon so happy as to be of this number,) there was in general free access to his library, which was quite extensive, well selected, and contained the best ancient and modern writers for philological purposes. Here we were not only furnished with an opportunity to collect together many items of information, but also enabled to obtain what was most adapted to our wants.

The happy relation in which I stood to Töpfer, the *conrector*, lasted for the two years that I spent in the class of the rector. This was effected in part by Töpfer's being obliged to give weekly lessons to this class, so that he continued to be its teacher even after it had ceased to be his; and in part, by the habit he was in of keeping up his connexion with those pupils whom he had once permitted to have free access to him, even though they were no longer

under his immediate control; and he who had once formed such a connexion, found it too advantageous and honorable, to be neglected, or dissolved by means of unworthy conduct.

The rector Martini, though doubtless possessed of greater and more extensive learning, was far less capable than Töpfer, of rendering himself useful as an instructor. He did not possess Töpfer's philological knowledge. Under him, however, we continued the diligent and careful reading of the Greek and Roman classics, and, as he attended to the more difficult writers, from him we in fact derived much valuable assistance.

Thus I lived and employed myself for four years and a half, for this was the length of time that I remained in the Gymnasium at Regensburg, strictly speaking, among the ancient Greeks and Romans. At the public recitations, indeed, as there always were many dull scholars among us, only a little of each author was explained. To accommodate these, we were confined almost to one place. Those who felt inclined to, however, read much more out of the school. While I was connected with the rector's class, we scarcely ended the fifth book of the Iliad. In the mean time, I had already read my Homer through more than once, at home. That the same was true with regard to Xenophon, Cicero, Livy, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Curtius, Terence and Pliny the younger, all of which were attended to in our public recitations, needs not be said. At home also we had writers at hand, who were not meddled with at school. I began therefore to form an acquaintance with Hesiod, the Greek tragedians, with Isocrates, Demosthenes and Plutarch, among the Greeks; and with Suetonius, Tacitus, Juvenal, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and Seneca; and at least, to collect literary notices of the other writers of antiquity.

Here I must observe that my favorite author about this time, was Cicero, whom I continued to look upon as unequalled in regard to rhetorical diction, until I became acquainted with Demosthenes. Of course, I made great efforts to imitate his style in Latin, and as in addition thereto I had obtained possession of John Augustus Ernesti's edition of the ancients, (his Initia Doctrinae Solidioris, had

then been introduced as a text-book,*) and his Opuscula, so by the example of this successful Ciceronian, I became farther confirmed in the opinion, that he who would acquire a good style, must adhere to Cicero in particular, as a guide. Hence, it was not easy for me to let a single day pass without reading something of Cicero's. At the same time, I had commenced the study of the French and the Italian languages; and it was not long before I could read the best authors especially in the former, in connexion with the ancients. Accordingly, with great zeal, I took hold of Fenelon's Telemaque, Racine's and Corneille's Tragedies, Moliere's Comedies, Boileau's Satires, and Bossuet's Introduction to Universal History; nor did I ever grow weary of comparing together those authors known to me who had treated of the same events, or ever come away from it, without having observed much and learned many useful things. That under such circumstances, my inclination for poetry should increase, was a matter of course. Not only did I improve every occasion which was presented us for making Latin and German verses as a class, but I made many of my own accord; and, as my acquaintance with the majority of our German poets increased, acquired facility in this species of writing, until I became quite skilful. In all cases, I gained in readiness at expressing myself in my native language, and this was the greatest advantage I derived from these exercises. Nature had not destined me for a poet, and as such, I should never have produced any thing excellent.

* [This work comprises an excellent course of literature.]

LETTER IV.

Answers the questions, why he did not read sermons for personal edification, or ministerial improvement—Remains at Regensburg as auditor—Connexion with Prof. Grimm—Acquires a deep relish for the Crusian philosophy.

MY DEAR FRIEND—

"And did you then," you ask me, in your last, "did you live all the time you passed at school, among the heathen? Did you attend to nothing that had a more immediate reference to the business of preaching, to which you had devoted yourself? Did you not occasionally hear or read a sermon for your own edification?" Permit me to answer these questions of yours in detail.

During my residence at Regensburg, I heard a multitude of sermons. The laws of the school required us to go to church twice every Sabbath and festival, and twice on week days. One sermon, therefore, on the Sabbath, and two on week days, were the least that fell to our share. Here I found sufficient nourishment for those religious feelings which had early been excited, and by the wisest means, carefully cherished in me by my father; and though attendance upon divine worship was of but little benefit to my ministerial education, it did not fail to prove a blessing to my heart.

As regards my own personal edification, I cannot recollect a period in my life in which I altogether neglected it. It was a matter of necessity for me to collect my thoughts together, and reflect upon my moral condition; but I frankly confess to you, that I never *resorted to sermons for aid in such meditations*, and that during my residence at Regensburg, I never read any,—not a single one. In neglecting to do so, I may have committed a great error, which I shall not undertake to deny; but listen to me and hear what it was that induced me to act as I did.

It is impossible for any one to be accustomed at an earlier age, to look upon the Bible as the book of all books,

than I was. I commenced learning to read with the Proverbs of Solomon, which were printed with distinct syllables for the sake of children; and scarcely had I attained to any degree of skill in reading, when my father, to whom the Scriptures were every thing in matters of religion, presented me with a Bible. Hence, when a child of five years of age, I began to read the Bible. I read it in course as I found it, from the beginning to the end, and did it more than once; never suffering a single day to pass, without having completed my task in this respect. This was indeed a childish notion. I felt so, and therefore never told my father of it, but read my Bible in silence, and altogether for myself. In the mean time, however, I derived increasing delight from reading it; embraced every opportunity which presented, to ask my father questions respecting it; and, as I advanced, made many useful reflections of my own, until I gradually acquired the habit of using it for purposes of personal edification, without calling any thing farther to my aid, than a spiritual song. This habit I carried with me to Regensburg. As I was always able, while there, to read the New Testament in the original, reading the Bible presented me with new attractions. I ran to my Bible, therefore, whenever I wished for instruction, animation, or comfort; and as I found every thing in it that I wanted, in great abundance, I never once thought of seeking after other means of edification.

"Still, it would have exerted a happy influence," as you think, "upon my education as a minister of the Gospel, if I had occasionally read a masterly sermon." I will not deny it. The sermons of Mosheim, Jerusalem, Cramer, Sack, and others, not to mention many in foreign languages, were not only worthy of being read, but studied.

I must tell you, however, my dear friend, that when at Regensburg, I had not definitely resolved upon becoming a minister of the Gospel, and was very uncertain what course I should pursue. From my very youth, indeed, I had felt a strong inclination for the sacred office, and, if I may so express myself, a kind of internal call to preach; and hence, could never hear any thing said respecting my choosing another mode of life, without experiencing a strong internal opposition which I was unable entirely to

suppress. So weak however was my body, and so critical my health, that many, and a lady in particular, for whom, as she always took care of me with maternal tenderness, I had the greatest respect, told me that I was not made for a preacher, and should never have strength enough to sustain the labors of the sacred ministry; and that self-preservation required me to direct my attention to some other pursuit. Indeed, I was twice brought to the very borders of the grave by a burning fever, from which it was a long time before I recovered. This confirmed my patrons and friends in the opinion they had formed, and made them think it best for me to devote all my time to such studies as would be of use to me upon whatever course of life I should in future determine. Under such circumstances, my friend, it was natural, that I should lose sight of every thing that related immediately and especially to the business of preaching. That by reading the choicest writers of antiquity, however, which then so entirely engrossed my mind, I was taking the best step for obtaining a ministerial education, was something of which I did not conceive. It was afterwards, I first learned, that I had employed my time to the greatest advantage without knowing it.

There is another circumstance, however, which I must mention, as it had an immediate bearing upon my education as a minister of the Gospel. With the six classes of the Gymnasium at Regensburg, there was connected a division called the auditory, which any one entered who had completed the time prescribed by law for the six classes, and fitted himself for the university. To these auditors, as they were called, lectures were delivered by the regular professors at the Gymnasium, upon theology, philosophy, philology, and other sciences, the object of which was to initiate the hearers into the university course, and prepare them for making a profitable use of its exercises. Strangers were at liberty to enter upon their academical career immediately from the upper class, or to attend in the first place to the lectures of the auditory. I chose the latter because I should otherwise have been obliged to go away at Michaelmass, at which time no regular course commenced at the university, and the most

important lectures had been continued for at least half a year. In order, therefore, not to lose the advantages of a university course begun in season, I spent the winter half of the year, from 1772 to 1773, still at Regensburg, as auditor.

Here, then, I also heard John Ludewig Grimm, the professor of theology, and at the same time a preacher, and as such, heard with great approbation. He soon conceived a great confidence in me, and gave me a commission for which I was but poorly prepared. He was obliged by the duties of his office, to preach during the week in St. Oswald's church. The sermons which he delivered there, were a kind of homilies composed of explanations of Genesis. As he was much pressed with business, he could not write these productions out in full, for want of time, though he was very anxious to do so. He requested me therefore to take his rough draughts, write them out for him, reducing them to the proper form, and then return them to him. My first efforts in this business were so successful, that the author recognized himself in what I gave to him, and requested me to continue my labor. Accordingly I worked out for him quite a series of these week-day sermons, in the manner just described; and as I increased my endeavors to render them agreeable and retain those expressions of the author which were the most worthy of the pulpit, this exercise probably exerted considerable influence in the formation of my style. I have only to add, that Grimm was a zealous pupil and follower of the theologian Crusius,* under whom he had studied in Leipsic, and respecting whose *Plan of the Kingdom of God*† he delivered his lectures in Regensburg. You will not think it strange, therefore, my dear friend, when I tell you, that I went to Saxony filled with a deep

* [For a notice of Crusius, or Krans, as it is written in the German, see Memoirs of Goethe, &c. p. 309; also, Germ. Conv. Lex. He formed the bold plan of reducing philosophy to a perfectly consistent and rational system, and combining it with orthodox theology, for which purpose he sought to destroy the system of Wolf, as being altogether inconsistent with his own. He was a deep and acute thinker, though now regarded as having been somewhat heavy. His philosophy at first produced considerable effect, but he outlived his influence, and the numerous theological works he wrote, are in general forgotten. In private life he was distinguished for integrity and rare piety.]

† Vorstell. v. d. Plane Reichesgottes, Leips.

reverence for this philosopher and theologian, and that his philosophical system was the first I became acquainted with and studied. But of the years I spent at the university, another time. Farewell.

LETTER V.

Goes to Wittemberg—Resolves to devote himself to the ministry—Applies closely to the most important studies,—Hears Schröckh on church history—Reads Saurin's Passion Sermons—Concludes to remain and prepare himself for teaching.

My Dear Friend—

By circumstances, the explanation of which does not properly belong to this place, it was rendered possible for me to go to an Electoral Saxon university, instead of going to Altdorf or Erlangen which were far nearer, and the usual resorting places for students of the Upper Palatinate. According to a plan devised for me by Mirus in Regensburg, the Electoral Saxon Secretary of Legation, one of my patrons, I was to study a year or two at Wittemberg, when he hoped by means of the celebrated Crusius, his intimate friend, to contrive some way for me to go to Leipsic and complete my studies there under the eye of this philosopher. Here in the very outset, I must remark, that the reason of this plan's not being carried into execution, was the death of Crusius in the year 1775, united with the new connexions I had formed, which rendered it easy and advisable for me to continue my residence at the university in Wittemberg.

When I went to Saxony, I was so poor, that I had no expectations of being able to stay at the university more than two years at the farthest. My little patrimony would certainly not hold out longer with all the frugality it was

possible for me to exercise; and the fine prospects which had been laid open before me by the honest and pious Mirus, of early obtaining a livelihood in Saxony, had too little security to authorize me to put confidence in them or regulate my plans accordingly.

On my arrival at Wittemberg, therefore, I had resolved upon two things: First, I intended, as soon as possible, to make a trial at preaching in order to see whether my breast and body would permit me to study theology, or whether I should be obliged to select some other profession. If the former should be the case, I was resolved in the second place, to pay no farther attention to preaching while at the university, but during the short space of time allotted to me for the purpose, to hear as many lectures as possible, and make myself acquainted with the indispensable sciences. It was very important for me to do so, as, from a predilection for the Latin and Greek authors and a dread of Danz, who was usually followed by those who taught the Hebrew, I had so entirely neglected this language as to be under the necessity of commencing it on my arrival at Wittemberg.

What I had resolved upon, I most punctually performed. I had passed but a few months at Wittemberg, and had begun to hear lectures upon the Hebrew language, upon philosophy, upon the New Testament, and upon doctrinal theology; when, on the sixth Sunday after the feast of Trinity, I delivered a sermon from the usual lesson of the day, in Dietrichsdorf, a small village connected with the parish in Wittemberg, but having a church of its own. The trial succeeded; for though I designedly exerted my utmost efforts, I felt not the least inconvenience at the close. The peasants also assured me that I had a clear voice and an excellent enunciation; and though I had never been in Dietrichsdorf before in my life, and was totally ignorant of every one in the place, yet the schoolmaster and the peasant, with whom, according to custom, I was obliged to dine, told me in the most perfect confidence at the close of divine service, that I had spoken some excellent truths to this person and that, whom they named. I have now lost all recollections of what I preached there. From the foregoing fact, however, it would seem at least,

that my sermon contained some practical observations, and such as were suitable for common life.

I now, my dear friend, immediately formed the resolution of becoming a minister. The ease with which my first trial at preaching was sustained, the attention with which the little assembly had listened to me, and, permit me to add, the by no means inconsiderable marks of approbation I received,—all these confirmed me in the hope which I had long secretly cherished, that I should not labor in this department without success, at some future day.

With far more particularity, however, was my second resolve carried into effect;—not to think any more at present upon writing sermons or preaching, but to apply myself to the sciences with which the preacher must be familiar, if he would do justice to his great calling. I now zealously attended, not merely to the acquisition of the Hebrew, but that of its kindred languages; and it was very well for me that I found a teacher in the now deceased, Professor Dresde, who was well acquainted with the first principles of the oriental languages, and excellent at imparting instruction.

With still greater eagerness did I attend to philosophy, in which the deceased Dr. Schmid, nephew of Dr. Crusius, was my instructor. This man had great talent at awakening reflection by means of lively conceits and excellent remarks, though he was not careful enough to give his discourses the requisite clearness and connexion. Hence, I found it necessary to read the philosophical writings of Crusius for myself, and this, together with the oral explanations given by Schmid, enabled me at length, though not without great efforts, to obtain a tolerably correct apprehension of the system of this acute and consistent thinker. If, in addition to all this, I tell you, as was the case, that I attended exegetical lectures upon the Old and New Testaments and studied mathematics and doctrinal theology; that I carefully made myself familiar with all the lectures upon the sciences, and daily read my Hebrew Bible in order to acquire all the skill requisite in that language; that I took part in discussions upon theological and philosophical subjects, and finally, that I still sought to save many hours for reading the Greek and Latin: you

will doubtless believe, that, for the first two years of my residence at Wittemberg, I had no time to preach.

By various circumstances indeed, it was now rendered possible for me to remain longer at Wittemberg than I had originally thought of doing; but as an opportunity was presented me in my third year, of becoming more intimately acquainted with Professor Schröckh and hearing him *privatissime* upon church history, I was induced to embrace it; and of course, a new and wide field of study opened before me. My guide in it proved himself master of its knowledge, and pointed out to me its most interesting regions with such skill and captivating friendship as to fill me with pleasure, so that I resolved to delay awhile in it, and devote the principal part of my time to him. It is true, that during this and the following, or my fourth year, I was occasionally obliged by the relation in which I stood, to deliver a sermon, but so rarely, that it proved no hindrance to my other labors. Besides, I then had no opportunity for attending to those sciences which are most intimately connected with the business of the preacher. During the whole course of my study, I did not hear a single lecture upon theological ethics or pastoral theology, nor did I receive any instruction in homiletics, or hear a single lecture upon preaching. This is a subject of deep regret to me, but he who is well acquainted with the state of the university at Wittemberg from 1773 to 1776, knows that it was not altogether my fault.

It was about this time, or during the third year of my course, that I indulged in a reading which certainly exerted some influence upon my preparations as a minister of the Gospel, and which therefore deserves to be taken notice of in this place. An accident brought into my hands the *Passion Sermons* of Saurin, as translated by Heyer. Saurin had been mentioned to me by my father as one of the most excellent of preachers. In this case, therefore, I naturally found it a pleasure to make an exception to the custom which I had hitherto observed, of reading no sermons. I found them well planned, and accurately divided into heads, divisions and subdivisions. This was as I supposed every sermon should be. In this respect, therefore, I found them approximate nearer to the pattern of a

perfect sermon which lay in my mind, than any I had ever heard. The lively turns too, which Saurin gives his address, and the flowers with which he bestrews every thing, likewise produced their effects. Of course I was delighted with him; and hence, I felt as though I ought to take him for a pattern; and a sermon delivered this year from the customary lesson in the parish church at Wittemberg, on Mary's Visitation, and printed at the request of many who heard it, exhibits evident marks of the attempts I made to imitate him. It is now as may easily be supposed, nearly unknown. It afforded a proof however, as regards its dress, that Saurin was in my mind as a pattern, and that I was a zealous Crusian and had made myself thoroughly acquainted with the *Prophetical Theology* of my master.

In the mean time, the period drew near, in which as I supposed, I should be obliged to leave the university. Accordingly, towards Michaelmass, of the year 1777, I was intending to return home to my native country; and shortly before that time, he who had hitherto been my guardian, and taken care of my little property, sent me the remainder of it for supplying the expenses of the journey. About this time, however, those teachers who knew me best, particularly Schmid, Dresde and Schröckh, gave me an earnest request to remain and apply to the business of academical instruction. I made objections, alleging that I knew not upon what I should live; but they were removed by the prospects which were held out to me of receiving support from various quarters, as soon as I had qualified myself for the work. In short, I was over ruled by the authority of these men, and the inclination which had been awakened in me during the last half year of my residence at Wittemberg, for a university life; and I immediately employed the money which had been sent to me for the expenses of my journey into the Upper Palatinate, for the purpose of qualifying myself towards the end of another year, for entering upon a course in which nothing was to be expected but pain and trouble. In so doing, you will observe, my dear friend, that I entered a path which not only might at first, but which unavoidably did, lead me away from the business of preaching. In

my next letter, however, before I speak of my academical career, you must expect from me some general remarks respecting the education which I had hitherto received, preparatory to becoming a minister of the Gospel. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

Points out the defects of his education—Exculpates himself for them in part—Warns young students against them—Means by which he provided for their remedy.

My Dear Friend—

You have the strongest reason to be astonished at the manner in which from my own account, it seems, I pursued my theological studies; directed as they were by no rational method, and full of frightful chasms. I absolutely inverted the order of things by attending to doctrinal theology in the first year, and putting off church history until the third. It was a very great defect that I attended no lectures upon ancient literature, universal history, or physics. It was a still greater defect, that I attended none upon homiletics, pastoral theology, or canon law. And, finally, it was altogether unpardonable in me, to neglect every thing like a lecture upon philosophical and theological ethics; in doing which, I overlooked the most indispensable part of a preparation for the sacred office.

The guilt of all these faults, however, does not rest entirely upon me. When I entered the university, I supposed, as I lately informed you, that it would be impossible for me to remain there longer than two years at the farthest. With all the lectures, therefore, which I wished to hear, it would have been useless for me to think of

observing a method which would have required more time. I was obliged as it were to snatch at what came along and secure it upon the spot. To this it should be added, that the course of theological instruction at Wittemberg during the three first years of my residence there, was in reality very defective. I should certainly have attended to philosophical and theological ethics, if an opportunity had been presented me for hearing suitable lectures upon these sciences. It is true, that Schmid contemplated lecturing upon both of them; upon the former, according to Crusius' *Directions for living a rational life*;* upon the latter, according to Rehkopf's *Abstract of Crusius' moral philosophy*;† but neither was brought about. It was equally impossible for me to hear any thing of value upon homiletics and pastoral theology. The aged Hoffmann indeed, who was general superintendent, read a *pastoral*, soon after my arrival at Wittemberg; but I felt as if it would be highly inverting the order of things to listen to this lecture then; and besides, the old man was so weak, that he could not go on, and in the following year he died. I might have attended to canon law, but I did not, as there were things more necessary which I wished to learn. With homiletics I thought I should be able to dispense, as I had already studied rhetoric at school. Professor Titius began a course of lectures upon physics, which I attended as far as he went, but he was obliged to discontinue it for want of a sufficient number of hearers. I committed a much greater error, however, in neglecting Schröckh's lectures upon universal history. I must confess, that I was at first filled with prejudice against the man; and when this was removed, it was too late. It is a source of satisfaction that I was able nevertheless to avail myself of the use of his lectures, upon church history. It is probable, however, that the want of lectures upon universal history, was far less injurious to me from the fact, that I began to read, I may almost say, to devour, Bossuet's work upon the history of the world according to Cramer's translation and with Cramer's additions, even while at Regensburg; the study of which I kept up at the university.

* Anweisung vernünftig zu leben.
† Auszug aus Crusii Moraltheologie.

With all my heart, however, must I warn young students for the ministry to guard against the errors which I here confess, and earnestly beg them to attend to the acquisition of the theological sciences in as perfect and methodical a manner, as time and circumstances will admit. Had I pursued my studies with less irregularity and obtained a knowledge of the sciences in their natural order, I should have found my way much easier, and been able, without special diligence or effort, to acquire a degree of perfection, the attainment of which with the most strenuous exertions, I was afterwards scarcely able to effect. I hope, however, that no student will find himself so destitute of opportunities for attending to every necessary branch of knowledge in its proper place, as I actually was. The circumstances in which I lived, were altogether unfavorable to me in this respect.

You ask me, my dear friend, in your letter, by what means I have endeavored to remedy the consequences of so defective an education, and actually succeeded in preventing them from becoming more conspicuous. Upon this point I can give you some information. Let me begin with that knowledge which particularly concerns us in the present case.

I have never had any instruction in homiletics, or taken any part in homiletic exercises. This perhaps is evident from my sermons. Their division and arrangement may be very defective in comparison with what they ought to be, according to the rules of homiletics. That without a knowledge of these rules, I have been able to produce so many sermons and give them at least a tolerable form, is owing to the diligence with which I read the ancient orators and rhetoricians, and the no less diligence with which I applied myself to philosophy. I had early made myself acquainted with the old systems of eloquence, particularly those of Cicero, at school. When at the university, I not only read them again, but with them connected Quintilian and Aristotle. With the theories of the ancients respecting eloquence, I compared their discourses, particularly those of Isocrates, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lysias and Cicero; and I have always thought, that the study of

these proved of more use to me than lectures upon homiletics would have done.

Here I must remark, that it was reading the ancients which formed in me that idea of genuine eloquence which afterwards always remained with me, which still appears to be the only true one, and which in my labors I have ever endeavored to keep before me, though I have come far short of it. I spent some years at the university before I became acquainted with the Grecian orators. Until then, my notions of eloquence were drawn chiefly from Cicero's works. I looked upon him with admiration as the greatest master in this department, excepting, that, on comparing him with the concise Haller overflowing with thought, I could not avoid occasionally pronouncing him somewhat verbose.*

Excited by him, I finally began to read the Grecian orators; and how astonished I was on finding in the most celebrated orator of all antiquity, a man, who, for accomplishing his object and producing the greatest effects, never uses a single flower or far-fetched expression, a conceited and remarkable phrase, or any thing that bears the least resemblance to poetical prose;—who, on the other hand, says and delivers every thing in those terms which are the most natural, correctly distinguishing and strikingly descriptive,—and hence, a man, in whom are to be discovered no traces of affectation, or struggling after wit and surprising turns, or of that audacity so pleasing to many, and said to be the companion of genius;—a man, on the contrary, who chains the attention of his hearers by a diction, strong, manly, and unincumbered with a single superfluous word; who overpowers, as it were, the understanding by the strength of his thoughts, the force of his reasons, and the superiority with which he develops them; and finally, bears every thing away with him by means of an eloquence which rolls forth in periods, which are perfect in themselves, are harmonious, and fill the ear.†

* Many of the ancients censured him, ut tumidiorem, et Asianum, et redundantem, et in repetitionibus nimium. See Quintilian, Institut. Orat. l. XII. c. 10, § 12.

† Cuius non tam vibrarent fulmina illa, nisi numeris contorta ferrentur, says Cicero of him, Orat. c. 70.

The more I read this orator, the clearer it appeared to me, that true eloquence is something entirely different from an artificial fluency of speech; something entirely different from playing with antitheses and witty expressions; something entirely different from poetical prose, or as Kant calls it, prose run mad; and finally, something entirely different from that storminess and vehemence, that sputtering and foaming, and that bombast and turgidness, at which the great mass of the people are astonished because of their ignorance. If then, said I to myself, for this was the inference which I drew, if then I can so speak in the pulpit that my discourse shall always constitute a well arranged whole, firmly united in all its parts, and continued in the most natural order; if I can always bring forward such matter as stands in close connexion with the most important concerns of my hearers and is of utility to them in practical life; if I can do this so that every thought shall always be clothed in those words, which, of all the treasures of the language, distinguish it in the best and most striking manner; if consequently, I can in teaching always find the most intelligible, in writing the most obvious, in admonishing the most powerful, in warning the most terrific, in consoling the most comforting, expressions; if I can avail myself of language so that every shading of the thoughts, every turn of the feelings, every climax of the passions, shall be rendered manifest by it, and always made to touch those cords of the heart which they ought to do; finally, if I can procure for my discourse a fulness without bombast, an euphony without artificial rhythm, and an easy uninterrupted current which overflows, pouring itself as it were into the ear and the heart;—if I can do all this, it will constitute the eloquence which is adapted to the pulpit. Then my discourse will be clear for the intellect, easy to be remembered, exciting to the feelings and captivating to the heart. Then I shall speak of religion with that perfect simplicity, exalted dignity, and benevolent warmth, with which we ought always to speak of it.

The idea of genuine eloquence thus drawn out of the ancients in general, but out of Cicero and Demosthenes in particular, became so thoroughly my own, that nothing

could please me which did not accord with it; and it constituted the ideal perfection at which I afterwards aimed in working out my own sermons. That on the other hand, I said that no use could or ought to be made by the religious teacher, of those arts of which the ancients availed themselves in their oratory, for the purpose of giving a good appearance to the vilest cause, infatuating the hearers with dazzling things, and inducing them to engage in rash undertakings by exciting their passions, will, I presume, be taken for granted. It is true, that that part of ancient eloquence which can be retained in the pulpit, had not then been so acutely and happily pointed out as it has been of late by Schott, in his *Sketch of a theory of eloquence, with a particular application to pulpit eloquence.** The ancient rhetoricians, however, speak of the dishonest artifices of which orators were obliged to avail themselves both on the stage, and before the tribunal, with so much frankness, that one must immediately feel them to be neither practicable nor necessary in matters of religion.

The want of instruction in homiletics, however, and the omission of homiletic exercises was rendered uninjurious to me in particular, by the study of philosophy. I cannot deny, that the philosophical sciences, for which, while at school I felt no inclination, presented me with irresistible attractions, as soon as I began to attend to them at the university. It was not long before I esteemed them for their own sake. Without thinking of any use to which I could apply them, under the influence of a love of the truth, I made them an object of study and became filled with a sense of their immense importance. Almost every day convinced me of the necessity of searching after something tangible and pacifying in this respect, and drove me on to new and incessant exertions. Even while a student, therefore, I devoted a great part of my time to philosophy, and exerted all my strength to form an intimate acquaintance with the philosophemes of the acute Crusius, in all their extent. As, in addition to this, I afterwards began to teach philosophy and was obliged to lecture upon

* Kurzer Entwurf einer Theorie der Beredtsamkeit mit besondrer Anwendung auf die Canzelberedtsamkeit; Leips., 1807.

it, so, for several years, it constituted, as I shall hereafter remark, my principal occupation. To calculate the advantage I should derive from this zealous and uninterrupted attention to philosophy as an exercise preparatory to preaching, was a thing I never thought of, being then influenced by my love for the study itself. It was not until afterwards, that I perceived I could not have gone through better exercises preparatory to entering upon the sacred office.

Having by the diligent and long-continued study of philosophy, become acquainted with an immense number of subjects standing in various and intimate relations to Christianity, it was not easy for me to be troubled with a want of materials when I began to preach. Having also accustomed myself to treat every thing methodically and agreeably to the rules of logic, and thus gradually acquired the power of apprehending the connexion, organization, and various relations of all systems, it was not easier for me to form the plan of a sermon or handle a religious doctrine, without order. In short, that activity of thought which enables a man to become perfect master of his subject, whatever it may be, and mould it according to his pleasure, can be acquired only by the study of philosophy; but a small share of this skill will enable any one who possesses it, to form the plan of a sermon with facility. If therefore there is any thing indispensable to a preparation for the ministerial office, it is, in my opinion, the study of philosophy. Not indeed that I would introduce philosophy into the pulpit, or give myself up to vain speculations; but in part, because it furnishes a man with a large stock of materials, and in part, because it enables one to treat every subject in a clear and radical manner, and agreeably to the circumstances and relations of the time and place.* No one will, in reality, be able to speak upon religious truths in a manner clear, simple, easy, and intelligible, without having a genuine philosophical knowledge of them,

* Nec vero sine philosophorum disciplina genus et speciem cuiusque rei cernere, neque eam definiendo explicare, nec tribuere in partes possumus; nec iudicare, quae vera, quae falsa sint; neque cernere consequentia, repugnantia videre, ambigua distinguere. Quid dicam de natura rerum, cuius cognitio magnam orationi suppeditat copiam; de vita, de officiis, de virtute, de moribus, sine multa earum ipsarum rerum disciplina aut dici, aut intelligi potest? Cicero in Orator. c. 5.

and being complete master of all ideas connected with them. He therefore who has not received a philosophical education, though he may become a verbose chatterer, never can become a good preacher. His defects in this respect cannot be supplied by high sounding phrases, or pious, smoothly flowing and luxuriant forms of expression. He will, at most, but dazzle for a while the great mass of the people, without doing justice to his intelligent hearers, or successfully accomplishing the true object of the ministerial office.*

Finally, the zeal with which I applied myself to philosophy, furnished an excellent remedy for the defects of my not having attended either to philosophical or theological ethics. As I was anxious to become acquainted with philosophy in its whole extent, and was ultimately called upon to teach it, so I was obliged to make myself familiar with its practical parts, as well as its theoretical. Accordingly, by my own diligence, I supplied the defects of my original education. And here also my love of ancient literature turned to good account. With the systematic study of practical philosophy I began occasionally to combine reading the ancient moralists; particularly Plato, Aristotle, Arrian, Plutarch, and Seneca. He who is acquainted with these writers, knows what treasures of moral truths are heaped together in their works, and what life, power, and practical utility, may be derived from a systematic knowledge of ethics, if with it we combine a profitable reading of these writers. Many of them, particularly the *Dissertationes Epicteteae* of Arrian, the moral treatises of Plutarch, and some works of Seneca, became of so much importance to me in these circumstances, that I read them often, and always with additional profit in respect to the enlargement and correction of my ethical information. In general, practical philosophy became more interesting to me, the longer I occupied myself with it. Afterwards, I gradually passed over to the best moralists of modern times; and, what proved of very great usefulness to me, began to read the best historians and poets of every age,

* Here we may adduce the testimony of a man who knew best what was safest for an orator: "Fateor," says Cicero, "me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicunque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex academiæ spatiis exstitisse." Orat. c. 4.

with an exclusive reference to ethics.* That this course very much facilitated the execution of the work upon Christian ethics, in which, by virtue of my office as teacher of theology, I was obliged to engage, is self-evident. My system of Christian morality every where exhibits marks of the great influence exerted upon me by these preparatory exercises; and reference is every where made to the writers to whom I am the most indebted.

I did not perceive all the benefit I had derived from this method of studying morality, however, until I began to preach. That the preacher must possess a systematic knowledge of morality, if he would go to the foundation in handling moral truths, is unquestionable.† This, of itself, however, is by no means sufficient. The preacher must be acquainted with the human heart, and familiar with all its movements, inclinations, and artifices. He must have examined the various dispositions and characters of men, and must know what difficulties and hindrances stand opposed to the practice of godliness in general, and virtue in particular. He must have the most salutary advice at hand requisite for every case, and, in short, what is and always will be, of the most importance in his circumstances, be possessed of *practical wisdom*. That the only way of acquiring this, is, by paying incessant attention to one's own heart, and those things which we find opportunity to notice, connected with a diligent reading of those authors who have shown themselves well acquainted with human nature, and written expressly for life, needs no proof. Among these, however, the old classic authors maintain so high a rank, that few others can be compared with them.

I frankly admit, therefore, that they and their best moralists, in connexion with the Bible, which I read incessantly, constituted my preacher's magazine. By them I have been led to a multitude of reflections, not only of practical utility, but very great importance. By them I have been enabled to find a thousand things in the moral precepts of the Bible, which, without this index, would forever have escaped me. I have no fears, my dear friend,

* Quintilian, Institut. Orator. l. XII. c. 4.

† Hence, Quintilian wished to have ethics included in rhetoric. Instit. Orat. l. XII. c. 2, § 9 seqq.

of your taking offence at this confession. The truth always remains the truth whenever and wherever it may be found; and should not a preacher of the present day, draw from those very same sources from which the most judicious fathers of the ancient church and its best preachers, agreeably to their own confessions, rejoiced to draw so much that was useful?* But enough of the years I devoted to study. As soon as I have more time to spare, I will give you some farther information respecting the commencement of my academical career, and the influence which it probably exerted upon my education, preparatory to becoming a preacher. Farewell.

LETTER VII.

Prepares for teaching—Lectures—Becomes Professor Extraordinary of Philosophy, Professor Ordinary of Theology, and Provost of the Castle Church—Passes through a painful mental struggle—Preserved from skepticism by respect for the Bible and for morality—The effect of all this on his ministerial education.

My Dear Friend—

Permit me to give you a very short account of the changes I passed through from the commencement of my duties as academical teacher, until I was intrusted with the ministerial office. It will then be easy for us to ascertain in what respects they contributed to prepare me for that office.

* The oration of Basilius the Great, Ad adolescentes de modo, e literis Graecis utilitatem percipiendi, is known. Comp. Krebsen's Abhandlung über diese Schrift, in the Opuscula academica et scholastica, p. 398ss., which Sturz has printed with his edition of the above named oration. "Philosophi autem," says Augustin, "qui vocantur, si qua forte vera et fidei nostrae accommodata dixerunt, maxime Platonici, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis etiam, tamquam iniustis possessoribus, in usum nostrum vindicanda." De doctrina christiana, l. II. c. 40.

In Nov. 1777, I went about qualifying myself for the work before me, and devoted from that time until the Easter of 1778, to preparing the lectures which I intended to deliver. These lectures, which treated of philosophical and philological subjects, attracted so many hearers, that I was encouraged to continue them; and being requested by many of my hearers to lecture upon theology also, in Nov. of the year 1778, I took the degree of Bachelor of Theology, necessary for this purpose. In 1780, I was appointed Professor Extraordinary of Philosophy. With express reference to this appointment, I then devoted by far the greatest part of my time to the philosophical sciences, though my hearers induced me to alternate some theological lectures with the philosophical. Scarcely had I sustained the office of Professor Extraordinary of Philosophy for two years, when I was called to become Professor Ordinary of Theology, with the express reserve, however, of my former professorship. Accordingly, in Nov., 1782, I became Doctor of Theology, and in Dec. of the same year, entered upon the duties of my new office. From this time onward, my attention was divided between philosophy and theology, as I was called upon to teach both of these sciences; and as, excited by the number, zeal, and adherence of my auditors, I read from four to five or even more lectures, a day, it was not long before I had occasion to go through with the substance of both departments. In this manner I had labored but two years, when I received the office of Provost of the Castle or University Church, and of course, that of preacher, upon which I actually entered on the feast of Mary's Annunciation, in 1784. In addition to my professorial duties, therefore, I had now all at once become obligated to deliver a sermon in the University Church, on the forenoon of every Sabbath and festival. Before I say any thing of my labors as provost, however, let us go back, my dear friend, to the commencement of those years, of whose changes I have given you so cursory a survey, in order to see what was done during this time to prepare me for the business of preaching, and ensure me some success in the ministerial office.

From 1778 to 1784, I did not, I may say, exercise my-

self in preaching, at all; for during this period, I certainly did not preach more than four times at the farthest; and one of these, was, when I became Doctor of Theology. This is easy to be accounted for. During this period, I was not obliged to preach either as a matter of duty or office; and having enough to do with the sciences, the principles of which I wished thoroughly to investigate, and then exhibit in the clearest and best manner, I could not think of entering the pulpit. Besides, so long as I was Professor Extraordinary of Philosophy, I was uncertain whether I should not entirely and forever exchange the pulpit for the philosophical chair. At least, I had so much to do *with* the latter and *for* it, that I lost the former entirely out of view. I did indeed conduct exercises in a small society and at its request, in the composition and delivery of sermons; and in particular, give some general directions respecting their proper construction. These, however, were out of the usual course, and soon brought to a close by the gradual dispersion of the society. With regular exercises of this kind, I absolutely had nothing to do, during this period.

And here, my dear friend, I cannot avoid giving you a description of the internal struggle so singular, and, in respect to my whole learned education, so important, through which I passed, in the first years of my academical career.

I have told you that I was a zealous Crusian when I began to deliver lectures. If I had not been, I should not have taken the trouble which I actually did, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the system of this somewhat heavy philosopher. Accordingly, I adopted it in my first lectures. In so doing, however, I felt myself under a pressing necessity to become acquainted also with other philosophical systems; in part, for the purpose of ascertaining what the best geniuses of every age had thought respecting the great problems which philosophy has to solve; and in part, because I saw that my own views could not be thorough and satisfactory until I had taken such a survey, and become acquainted with opposing systems. Hence, I began with great zeal to look into the most celebrated systems of the ancient and modern world, and in particular, to read the various authors extant upon every system.

But how astonished I was, and overwhelmed with embarrassment, when, in this course of study, I discovered a multitude of weak parts in my own system, of which I had before had no suspicion. In proportion as my philosophical views were extended, I learned, that many things could be said in favor of those positions, which, to the partial Crusians, had either appeared absurd, or highly dangerous; the stronger I began to feel that every system contains something true and good; that in every one, human reason exhibits itself in some peculiar way, and hence, that every one is deserving of investigation and respect; the more doubts arose in my mind; the more uncertain the ground became, upon which I before believed myself standing with such firmness; and finally, it came to such a pass, (for why should I not confess to you the truth,)—it came to such a pass, that I had nothing firm under my feet; that I was involved in the mazes of discordant speculations, and fluttering as it were in the air, without knowing any longer where to find the ground.

About this time, disputes became more and more general in the theological world, and not only threatened to shake doctrinal theology in particular, but actually to overturn it. These greatly added to the perplexity of my internal fermentation, and sometimes increased it to the most painful disquietude.

Neither my conscience nor my heart, however, would suffer me to remain ignorant of these disputes and discussions. The question, What connexion has philosophy with revelation, and how can the two be reconciled together? had always been an interesting and important one to me, and it became increasingly so, from the moment I was called to deliver lectures upon theology. It is in vain for me to attempt to give you a description of the sad struggle in which I saw myself involved every morning;—a struggle which was renewed with every preparation I made for lecturing, and as often accompanied with the greatest helplessness and embarrassment. The idea of saying any thing which should infect the youth with pernicious error, filled me with trembling; and yet I had to speak of a thousand things respecting which I was obliged to explain myself with such problematicalness, as to render a convic-

tion of the truth impossible. Accordingly, the striking of the clock which called me to the lecture-room, often found me walking up and down my chamber with tears in my eyes, engaged in earnest prayer to God, that he would guide me at least in such a manner, as not to suffer me to do any thing detrimental to religion and morality; and not unfrequently was it difficult for me to conceal my internal commotion from my hearers. Notwithstanding the uncertainty, however, in which all my knowledge, even that which I had considered as resting upon a solid basis, was, about this time involved, two principles remained by me unshaken: *First*, never to permit myself to indulge in any explanations in philosophy which did violence to my moral feelings; and *second*, never to assert any thing in theology which was at variance with the obvious declarations of the Bible.

That any thing could be true in philosophy which was prejudicial to morality, was something of which I could in no wise be convinced. Positions of this kind, with how much so ever plausibility they were laid down, always disgusted me. By means of the moral education I had received, and the diligent attention I had paid to my own improvement, moral feeling had been rendered too active in me, not immediately to reject and that too with aversion, every position of an immoral tendency; and whenever such occurred to me, I soon succeeded in discovering their falsity and tracing out the sophisms upon which they rested. Hence, though I found myself unable to embrace any party as a whole, and felt very far removed from any system which had been thoroughly tried and was satisfactory to myself, yet I never embraced any opinions of a dangerous character or prejudicial to morality; and besides, I was an Eclectic, whose object was to obtain what appeared to be the best and most tenable of every system, and arrange it in a convenient form. This being the case, that my philosophical lectures were always assuming a new aspect is a matter of course. I constantly extended my investigations and arrived at new views and results. This could prove of no disadvantage to my hearers. I always gave them, what, according to duty and conscience, I considered the best and truest; and if any

of them, on hearing me lecture upon the same subjects again, discovered changes, it led them to reflect for themselves, and filled them with a spirit of investigation; and to awaken a spirit of investigation in my hearers, and teach them to stand upon their own feet, was the grand object of all my lectures, particularly the philosophical.

In regard to theology: The principle, not to approve of any thing in theology which was at variance with the obvious declarations of the Bible, confined me to a middle course, in which, with sufficient freedom for examination, I was restrained from running off too far into error. That this proved prejudicial to the students committed to my charge, I will not pretend to deny. The Bible, as I lately informed you, my dear friend, had been my companion from my youth. I had never ceased to look upon it as the word of God to man, and read it as such. To me therefore it was of sacred and decisive authority. Hence, a position which contradicted it, disgusted my religious feelings, as much as an immoral assertion did my moral sense. That I regularly and faithfully examined the principles upon which the authority of the Scriptures rest, you will take for granted. Before I did so, however, it was a matter of conscience with me not to involve myself in any contention with a book which originated with God, and constitutes the instruction of so large a portion of our race; the divine power of which I had so often experienced in my own heart, and for which all my feelings had ever declared in so decided a manner. In addition to this, I was born in a church, which is the proper kingdom of the Scriptures, acknowledging as it does no other unlimited authority and deriving its system of doctrines entirely from them. This system appeared to me to be far more agreeable to the Scriptures, provided they are received without any human refinements or perversions, than that of any other religious party of Christians. Hence, notwithstanding the greatness of my internal fermentation, and the length of my struggles with doubts of every kind, I could, from the very beginning, not only teach the system of doctrines embraced by the Evangelical church, but, if I acted conscientiously, was obliged to do so. Of course, I afterwards did this with increasing delight and thorough-

ness; as I became more and more convinced, that the essential parts of this system are contained in the Scriptures and too deeply founded upon them, ever to be mistaken, or by any of the arts of interpretation, entirely explained away.

And now, my dear friend, as to the result: Strictly speaking, the six years which I have just described or the time from 1778 to 1784, cannot be reckoned as devoted to an immediate preparation for the ministry. During this remarkable period of my life, I was zealously engaged in inquiries after truth and certainty, and made it my principal aim to obtain correct views of those subjects which by every rational man ought to be looked upon as the most sacred and important. With the business of preaching during this period of struggle, I did not trouble myself. That it was a period of immense usefulness to me, however, in this respect, you will yourself infer. The exercises in teaching and thinking in which I had to engage, the various acquisitions which I was obliged to make, the stores of useful materials which I acquired, the many precious reflections to which I was led, and, what is more than all the rest, the joyful convictions respecting the most important concerns of man, which I gradually obtained,— all these proved of great value to me when I began to preach. I then found myself neither destitute of materials to work upon, nor void of skill to give what was to be delivered, the requisite order and connexion. In respect also to expression and representation, I had gained more than I had lost; for without words it is impossible to philosophize, and the reading of the best and acutest writers in which I employed myself during this period, proved of great use to me in increasing my knowledge of language and forming my taste. It is time, however, for me to hasten to my entrance upon the business of preaching. Permit me to give you an account of myself in this respect in my next letter, and in the mean time, farewell.

LETTER VIII.

Becomes a Pastor—Ministerial habits—Complains of his memory—No imitator—Wrote very methodically—His first sermons quite defective—Ought to have read and studied the best masters.

My Dear Friend—

I had not preached more than sixteen or twenty times at the farthest, in all my life, when I was ushered into a very important station as a minister of the Gospel, and one, who was to have young students for his hearers, and serve as a pattern to those who were destined to become ministers themselves. You will readily suppose that I deeply felt the importance of my calling, and entered upon it resolved to do the utmost in my power to perform its duties, and to omit nothing so far as knowledge and design were concerned, which should be requisite for enabling me to render my sermons useful. As I was obliged to begin preaching without having gone through much preparatory exercise, in the midst of labors of an entirely different kind, the whole employment with me had some peculiarities, which I will lay open to you in regular order.

I was scarcely ever master of my own time. Almost every moment I had to spare, during the week, was devoted to the business of my professorship. The only time I had for composing sermons, was, what I had formerly spent in reading and extending my studies. I was also unable to calculate upon my health. It had never been firm, and with the efforts which I was now obliged to make, it certainly could not gain. Accordingly, I was subject to sudden fits of indisposition, particularly to ephemeral fevers, which often atacked me when I was least prepared for them.

Hence, when I began to preach, I firmly resolved, never to postpone the composing of a sermon to the last moment, but always to commence the work as soon as possible. From the very outset, therefore, I made it an inva-

riable rule, before delivering one sermon, to have another already prepared to follow it, in my desk.

This was of more than one advantage to me. I was never driven to the necessity of preaching unprepared or of extemporizing. I was ready for every occasion long before it arrived. If unforeseen events occured, or my studies were interrupted, or sudden fits of indisposition attacked me, they could not injure my labor; for if these things took place during the latter part of the week, they could not affect the sermon already in my desk, and ample time was always left for me to plan another to succeed it, and write it out, with all the requisite care. More than all the rest, however, this habit of early preparation made it unnecessary for me to do any thing in haste. Sometimes I did not succeed to my mind as to every point in my first attempts at composing a sermon. As however more than a week was to elapse before it would be delivered, I had ample time for working over the whole of it or a part, as often as I pleased, and endeavoring to render it, at least, in some measure perfect.* Hence, my sermons naturally acquired a certain uniformity of character. At any rate, they had this perfection if no other, that one was not exalted too much above another, as all had in the main received an equal share of attention. These advantages induced me to continue the habit of early preparation for the pulpit, even after I ceased to be professor, when I had far more time to devote to my sermons. This I was constrained to do, so much the more, from the fact, that the ideal perfection at which I aimed in composing a sermon, was always becoming more elevated, and consequently, required me to make increasing exertions to effect its attainment. I labored therefore at this time, notwithstanding I had preached so often and so long, more hours and with greater diligence upon my sermons than I did at first; and hence, was obliged to calculate closer than formerly, in order to obtain sufficient leisure for composing them.

* [" I cannot recommend Reinhard's custom of writing a second sermon before the first was delivered, to those who commit their discourses; as the two things united must occasion perplexity." Tzschirner, Briefe veranlasst durch Reinhard's Geständnisse, u. s. w. Sulzbach, 1810, S. 248 ff.]

No sooner had I commenced the business of preaching, than I became very painfully conscious of a defect, which had not wholly escaped me before, but which I had not much regarded; namely, the want of a *good, ready, and retentive memory for words.* In recollecting things, connected trains of thought, and whole systems of well arranged ideas, I never found any difficulty; and the attention I had paid to philosophy, had greatly exercised and strengthened my memory in this respect. To call to mind however a discourse I was to deliver, in exactly those words and phrases in which it was written, was not so easy a task; nor could I, at first, consistently with the arrangements I had made for composing my sermons, entirely prevent all the injurious results of a defective memory. Nevertheless, I was sensible of the impossibility of avoiding the introduction of inappropriate and undignified expressions, falling into tautological excrescenses, speaking with imperspicuity and indefiniteness, and perhaps, by means of a careless style, of exciting aversion and disgust, in any other way, than by adhering to the very terms and expressions, which, in writing my sermons, I had selected as the best. Hence, I applied every spare moment I could find during the week, particularly dressing time, to gradually committing my sermon to memory, in order that I might be able to deliver it without embarrassment. That under such circumstances, I found this part of my duty the hardest I had to perform, is a confession you will naturally expect. Indeed, with the most conscientious diligence and care in this respect, I could not avoid letting many things slip in the delivery, and often entirely destroying a well constructed period, by substituting new and ill-adapted expressions instead of the ones which had originally been selected; nor have I been able by constant exercise, to remedy this natural defect of my memory; for it costs me now as much trouble as it did at first, to take up every thing when I preach, exactly in the order in which it was conceived and written.*

* ["That a sermon should be carefully worked out and committed to memory beforehand, whenever it is possible, I have," says Tzschirner, (Briefe u. s. w., already referred to, S. 248 ff.,) "become thoroughly convinced. To read a sermon shackles an orator, prevents his hearers from indulging the agreeable

From the circumstances which I have now recounted, you will be able in a great measure to collect the reasons why my sermons have received the peculiar form and division which they possess. For me to imitate a master, when I was obliged to begin preaching, was impossible. From the history of literature indeed, I had become acquainted with the most distinguished men in this department, but of their mode of sermonizing I was totally ignorant. The above named Passion Sermons of Saurin were the only ones I had ever read, and all the idea I ever had of imitating this excellent man, soon passed away in the midst of a pressure of business, or was annihilated by that activity of thought which will not readily submit to restraint. I gave myself up, therefore, to my own opinions and feelings.

When a professor, I was in the habit of composing my discourses in a very methodical manner, and this habit followed me into the pulpit. My sermons contained definitions, divisions, and arguments, just like my lectures; and

illusion that what he says and feels is the result of the moment, and transforms him into a mere teacher. It may be tolerated in an aged man, but should be wholly avoided by the young. To extemporize leads to superficiality and chattering. True, the ancients often extemporized, but not until after years of training, and then on occasions which spontaneously furnished the orator with enough to say; whereas the minister has to draw from his own meditations. It is far better, indeed, for a man to speak from a plan, than a half written, half committed sermon; but I advise you, my dear friend, to extemporize as little as possible." The opinion here expressed, is quite a prevalent one in Germany, and has many plausible arguments in its favor; but is it correct? Of the different modes of addressing an audience, that is the best which enables the orator to keep the field of thought the most vividly before him. With the Germans, we must ask, What can be more unfavorable than reading a sermon, in this respect? To speak a sermon memoriter is ascending a grade higher, provided it be well committed, and the man have a soul that will kindle. How easy, however, even in this case, to lose sight of the field of thought, in the mechanical process of rehearsing words? That many eloquent discourses must be composed, long and intensely analyzed, studied, and repeated, before a man can become an orator, is readily admitted; but is memoriter preaching the most favorable to oratory? Will it enable a man to keep the field of thought most vividly before him? And yet the objections made by the Germans to extemporary speaking, are also founded in truth. Nothing can be more injurious in the end, to real oratory, or to the cause of truth, than that chattering mode of declaiming which is so generally known as extemporary preaching. There is another mode, which if I mistake not, combines the advantages both of memoriter preaching and extemporizing, enables a man to keep the field of thought before him, thus lighting up the fire within, and holds him ready for new impulses; the attainment of which, will constitute the perfect orator. It consists in committing thoughts and illustrations to memory with little or no reference to words, and then giving the audience an unhesitating and simple description of what lies before the mind, as we describe a beautiful landscape to a friend.]

were as closely directed in every respect to the devotion of my hearers in the church, as the latter were to the attention of my hearers in the theological lecture-room. That the early education I received had greatly inclined me to this kind of preaching, you will infer, my dear friend, from what has already been said. There were some particular reasons, however, which justified me, as I supposed, in this, I may almost say, scholastic mode of preaching. As I had to preach in the University Church, the majority of my hearers were learned men and students. To these, capable as they were of following out a regular and closely connected discourse, I considered it my duty to have particular respect. Strictly speaking, they had been intrusted to me, and constituted my church. To this it may be added, that my capricious memory did not well retain any thing but what was closely connected together. The more accurately and methodically my sermon was adjusted in all its parts, even the smallest divisions, the easier I found it to be gotten by heart.* That in the midst of the loads of business of every kind with which I was surrounded, I should avail myself of this assistance as much as possible, was natural. Finally, I learned from experience that this mode of preaching proved of great utility, even to common people. At first, only a few came to hear me. My manner of preaching was too strange to them to present them with many attractions. These few however, gradually became accustomed to my style of writing, and soon their numbers increased; so that in the end, I found myself by no means destitute of illiterate hearers. Those of this class who attended, were, in a short time, able accurately to remember the whole train of thought contained in each sermon, together with its principal contents. There were citizens' wives, who could, from Sabbath to Sabbath, give a minute account of each discourse they heard, with all its divisions and sub-divisions. As, therefore, I considered it my duty to preach from memory, and felt anxious to have my hearers as intimately acquainted as possible, with what I said, utility required me, as I believed, to continue this mode of sermonizing.

* Quintilian expressly recommends good arrangement for the sake of the assistance it affords a man's memory. Institut. Orat. l. XI. c. 2, 9, 36, 37.

It is true, that in so doing, I was obliged to renounce many things connected with rhetorical taste; but I did this the more willingly, as I had always looked upon the Christian minister, as a teacher, rather than an orator; and from experience, I gradually learned, that a discourse so composed as to constitute a well arranged whole, is not only capable of being clothed in an interesting dress, but also of being filled with animation. Farther on, however, I shall call your attention more particularly to some parts of this method, which I either do not wish to have imitated at all, or, at least, not by preachers in the country.

Here I must add the confession, that the sermons I preached during the first years of my ministry, were, in reality, very imperfect. The reason of this was, that I had gone through no exercises in this department, and was obliged to acquire all the skill which I ought to have brought with me to the work, in the progress of the work itself. I cannot forbear saying, therefore; let no one destined for the ministry, fail to improve every opportunity which presents, in attending to the necessary preparatory exercises. The greatest natural talents will not compensate for the want of such exercises. A man of genius will get along better, indeed, under such circumstances, than one that is not, and complete his task at an earlier period; but length of time will certainly not accomplish what, with a little more diligence in the proper season, might have been accomplished at once. I felt the imperfection of my sermons very sensibly,—more sensibly than my goodnatured hearers. Hence, though I had preached at Wittemberg for eight years, yet I had not been persuaded to print more than eighteen sermons, two of them separately, as I have already informed you, my dear friend; the remaining sixteen, in a volume by themselves. I became more deeply sensible, however, of the imperfections of these sermons, some time afterwards, than I was while at Wittemberg. I then undertook to repeat some of the sermons which I had formerly delivered, but could not, so dissatisfied was I with them, without working them entirely over. Many years have now elapsed since I altogether relinquished such an attempt; for though I now have more than a hundred such sermons by me, yet, taken as a whole, they are, according

to my present feelings, so very imperfect, that I should be obliged to work them all over in order to render them tolerable.

Let me conclude this letter, my dear friend, with a confession which I feel bound to make by way of caution to young ministers. Perhaps my sermons would have been far better at an earlier period, if I had read and studied the best masters in the department to which I was devoted, taking them for my guides. This, however, I never did, and, oppressed as I was with business, was utterly unable to do. It is true, I had the charge of a little society, which met once a week, formed plans, and wrote sermons, submitting them to my criticism. With this society, there was also connected a reading association, in which fifty volumes of works selected by myself with an especial reference to the ministry, were circulated every week. Of course, these works comprised some of the best collections of sermons then in existence, and which students might well have considered as patterns. However diligently they were read by others, I had no time to read them. Indeed, obliged as I was, constantly to compose sermons for myself, I could not think of reading the sermons of others. If I was ever so happy as to get any time for reading, I wished to devote it to something in another form which was calculated to recruit me by novelty or variety. It was not until I had been Court Preacher for several years, that I began to form an acquaintance with the spirit and manner of the best French, English, and German preachers. Some of Zollikofer's sermons were the first I read for this purpose. I immediately found the productions of this great man, fraught with a thousand excellencies which mine did not possess, but which they might have possessed, at least in part, had I made myself acquainted with them at an earlier period. I was now too old, however, to think of imitation, and too much habituated to my own method, to effect any great changes in it. The only advantage therefore which I could at this time, and which I actually did, draw from them, consisted in the fact, that they induced me to lay myself under higher obligations, and made me feel very vividly how far I still was, from the goal of perfection.

I hope that young preachers will take warning from my example. In more than one respect, it is necessary and useful for a man to obtain a practicable knowledge of what is best and most worthy of being read, in the department to which he is devoted; nor will it contribute in any small degree, towards perfecting the education of a minister, if he from time to time make himself acquainted with the greatest masters in his art and study their works; not for the purpose of slavishly imitating them, but in order to quicken his perception of the truly beautiful and great, correct his taste, and then form a method of his own which shall harmonize the best with his powers, talents, and the circumstances in which he is placed. I had been taught by Cicero, to neglect none of the productions of the greatest orators. Every body acquainted with his works, knows from his Brutus, how familiar he was with all the Greek and Roman sciences connected with his art, and with what diligence he studied the literature of his department. May his example so much neglected by myself in this respect, prove exciting and salutary to others. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

Chooses to speak of his creed—Began preaching in times of great religious controversy—was censured by some, apologized for, by others, for adhering to Orthodoxy—Very much pained by the latter—How he arrived at his religious views—Early saw the necessity of adhering entirely to reason, or entirely to revelation—Those following a middle course, involved in uncertainty—Knew not what they were about—Felt himself obliged to adhere entirely to revelation—Welcomes truth however from all quarters—A belief in revelation favorable to reason and effect—The grand cause of his adherence to the Gospel, his need of a Saviour—Solemn conclusion.

My Dear Friend—

You will excuse me, you say, from speaking of the subjects and contents of my sermons, inasmuch as it

is sufficiently evident to every one, who examines them, that the principles they contain are those of the Evangelical church, as embodied in its articles of faith; and that none of them, however numerous they are, can be looked upon as merely doctrinal or ethical, as the theoretical and practical parts of religion are every where combined together, and exhibited in their mutual connexion. I not only acknowledge the justice of these remarks, but confess the gratitude I feel, for the readiness with which you refrain from asking me to defend my orthodoxy and adherence to the ancient doctrines of our church. Such in all cases being the character of my sermons, you wish for, nothing more, as you say, respecting them, than an account of the form in which they were composed. You will excuse me, however, if I make no use of your forbearance. Permit me, on the other hand, to devote this letter to saying something about the reasons why my sermons contain such principles and no others.

On account of my adherence to the doctrines of our church, or rather to the doctrines of the Bible, which have always been recognized in my sermons, I have, on the one hand, been bitterly censured, and in reality calumniated; and, on the other, tenderly apologized for and defended; and I will frankly confess to you, my dear friend, that the latter has grieved me far more than the former.

I commenced preaching at a time in which our illuminating theologians had succeeded in rendering the doctrines of Christianity so clear and intelligible, that nothing was left but pure Rationalism. Then, for any who wished to get applause and obtain journal approbation, it was an almost indispensable condition, that he should have declared some book of the Bible spurious, or have attacked some established doctrine. He who ventured to make his appearance in public without doing homage to the spirit of the age, might calculate upon being received with ridicule and contempt. That I did not escape this fate; that, on the other hand, my adherence to the ancient doctrines was pronounced incomprehensible by the reviewers, treated with injustice and severity, and spoken of with bitterness and sarcasm, is a matter with which you must have been acquainted. One of these zealots thought it advisable to

give a connected representation of the most powerful things which had been said in this respect, and publish them in a little book.*

On the other hand, as I never wrote a word in my own defence, there were patrons who came forward without invitation, for the purpose of solving the riddle. That I remained such an old fashioned believer from stupidity or want of learning, was something which, as they asserted, could not be admitted. "It must therefore be supposed," said they, "that he speaks as he does, in order to accommodate himself to the circumstances and relations in which he is placed. It cannot be doubted that he is at heart convinced of the opposite truths, and a firm believer in the correctness of the modern explanations given of the Scriptures, for what man of genius and learning is not? The country in which he instructs however, is probably not prepared for this new light; or perhaps it is his opinion, that a public religious teacher should deliver such truths as he is enjoined to do by the state, without blending with them any particular opinions of his own; and as, in the celebrated work entitled, the *Contest of the Faculties*,† this was shown to be very rational and proper, so every thing was cleared up, and but little left, necessary for putting an end to my orthodoxy.

That this mode of apologizing for, and defending me, filled my heart with far more pain than all the abuses I received, is a thing at which no one will be less astonished, my friend, than yourself. You know me, from long experience, to be frank and open hearted. You know, that I never speak otherwise, even in common life, than as I think. You know, that I cannot speak a word contrary to my convictions, and that, should I attempt to do so, it would die upon my tongue. You know that I never flatter a man, and that, in the pulpit especially, whenever it has been necessary, I have spoken with a frankness amounting even to boldness. And, finally, you know, that

* It is entitled: Neueste protestantische Bekenntnisse über Sectengeist und Canzelkrieg, veranlasst durch die Reinhardische Reformationspredigt von 1800, gesammelt zum Besten seiner Amtsbrüder von Wilhelm Köster, Predigern in der Rheinpfalz. Deutschland, 1802.

† Der Streit der Facultäten.

whenever this frankness became useless, or incapable of defence, instead of changing my views and beginning to speak in another tone, I invariably remained silent. And yet, in the most important of all concerns, I was pronounced by the world a dishonest man; was said to teach a religion which I did not believe; and accused of performing the duties of my office like a miserable hireling, not for the sake of the truth or the salvation of the souls intrusted to my care, but for the sake of my own advantage! If the relations which I sustained in Saxony, were so oppressive, could I not have gone into other countries, where perfect freedom was to be enjoyed? Did I not receive calls and invitations from such countries? And was I not in general, so circumstanced, that I could obtain a measure of independence, whenever I wished? Happy it was, that none of these deceptive representations produced any effect upon my church. My moral habits and entire mode of action were of too upright a character, to permit them to mistrust me in the least respect, or look upon me as an equivocator. Besides, he who ever heard me preach, knew from my manner, that what I uttered, came from the heart, and felt, that I spoke the language of deep rooted and firmly established conviction.

Permit me then to explain to you in a few words, how I arrived at those views so offensive to our reforming theologians. Of the labor it cost me to obtain harmonious and firm results in philosophy and religion, I have already given you an account. In my struggles after the truth, I could not fail to perceive, that strict and systematic connexion, unity of principle, and consistency of thought in religion, could be acquired only by adhering entirely to reason, or entirely to the Scriptures; and hence, in reality, only by the Rationalist or Supernaturalist. With the former, reason alone decides. What she does not comprehend and approve of, he utterly rejects from his creed. His knowledge therefore is connected and homogeneous. With him, the Scriptures have no more authority than any other human production. He listens to what they say only when it agrees with his own opinions; and then, not because he supposes it affords any decisive proof of what he believes, for in this respect he trusts alone to reason,

but merely for the purpose of illustration, and showing, that others have thought and believed, as he does.

In like manner, consistent with himself and in every respect faithful to his own principles, is the Supernaturalist. To him in matters of religion the Scriptures are, what reason is to the Rationalist. He makes use of the latter indeed, for the purpose of examining the claims of the Scriptures, and the arguments in favor of their high origin; but as soon as this is done,—as soon as he is convinced that the instructions they contain, originated with God, he receives their authority as decisive in every thing pertaining to religion. Thenceforward, reason has nothing to do but to explain the Scriptures and endeavor to ascertain their meaning; and the doctrines to which this process leads her, however strange they may seem, or far they may lie beyond the reach of her discovery or ability to prove, she is by no means at liberty to reject, unless they contain some things contradictory in themselves. On the other hand, she is bound to recognize them as from God, and yield obedience to them as of divine authority.*

It is perfectly evident, that a man will reason inconsistently, and fail of lighting upon any satisfactory and determining principle for the regulation of his knowledge, so long as he pursues a middle course and makes reason and Scripture co-ordinate, instead of making the one subordi-

* "Respecting the possibility and necessity of a revelation," says Lessing, "and the credibility of the many who lay claim to inspiration, reason alone must decide. When she has settled these points and discovered a revelation, she must look upon its containing things above her comprehension as an argument in its favor rather than an objection to it. One might as well have none, as to think of excluding every thing supernatural from his religion; for what is a revelation which reveals nothing? Is it enough for a man to reject the name and retain the thing? Are there no other unbelievers but those who reject the name and the thing together?" Soon after, he adds: "The very idea of a revelation implies, that reason has been taken captive and brought in subjection to faith; or rather, as this expression may seem harsh on the one hand, and indicate opposition on the other, that reason has surrendered to faith. This surrendering is nothing more than acknowledging her limits, as soon as she is convinced of the reality of the revelation. Accordingly, this is the position in which a man must maintain himself. To be laughed out of it by invidious ridicule, betrays a soul contracted with vanity; to allow one's self to think of relaxing the claims of these proofs, evinces a doubt in the reality of a revelation. What one tries to save in this way, will be lost with so much the less opposition. It is only a snare which the opponents of the Christian religion, by magnifying the incomprehensible, lay, to catch those of its defenders who are not altogether certain of the goodness of their cause and wish above all things to guard the honor of their acuteness." Lessing, Sämmtliche Werke, Th. V. S. 26—30.

nate to the other. In this case, there is no way for determining the extent of their respective rights or adjusting their proper claims. Nothing farther is then left but the capricious will, under the direction of which, the man sometimes yields to the control of reason, at others, to the control of the Scriptures, and sometimes receives doctrines which are altogether unknown to reason, merely because they are found in the Bible; and at others, rejects positions, however Scriptural they may be and clearly expressed, merely because they are displeasing to reason. Those who adopt this course, therefore, and act accordingly, can never arrive at any thing definite. One will incline too much to reason, another too much to revelation. One will declare unworthy of belief and absurd, what another adheres to, with firmness, and deems perfectly reconcilable with reason. He who has from his youth retained a reverence for the Scriptures, will permit them to exert a greater influence upon his system, than one who early became accustomed to reject all authority and follow merely his own reason.*

In this middle course,—a course which never can lead to any thing more than to rhapsodical knowledge composed of heterogeneous materials, and hence, always disconnected and indefinite,—I thought I discovered the most of those theologians who were laboring for the purification of the system of Christian truth. With due consideration I say *the most*. That there were men among them who knew well what they were about, and were genuine Rationalists,

* [The above remarks of Reinhard, respecting the necessity of every one's adhering altogether to reason, or altogether to revelation, who would obtain consistent views in matters of religion, served to renew the controversy upon this subject, in Germany. Many good men thought, and doubtless still think, that Reinhard was too severe in his mode of thinking in this respect. To this effect are the remarks of Tzschirner, Briefe, veranlasst, u. s. w., V. S. 75 ff. His correspondent, while he declares himself a believer in revelation, declares himself unable to receive the whole of the Bible as the word of God, having strong objections to what it says respecting the introduction of mortality into the world, as well as respecting angels, demons, &c.; and Tzschirner justifies him, declaring he believes it possible for a man to take this ground, and yet obtain consistent views in religion. Those who wish to enter into this subject, will find a good guide in the Germ. Conv. Lex. Art. *Rationalismus*; with which may be connected particularly, *Naturalismus*, *Supranaturalismus*, *Syncretismus*; and several works referred to at the end of Tzschirner's fifth Letter mentioned above. Compare Prof. Stuart's Letter to the Rev. Wm. E. Channing, p. 13 f. third ed., And. 1819.]

but thought it advisable not to let it be known, and hence, at heart, rejected every thing positive in religion, without questioning it at all in public, or making it a subject of dispute, was a fact too obvious to escape the notice of attentive observers. But, by far the greater part of these illuminating theologians in reality knew not what they were about, and had no idea of the tendency of their efforts. Believing they were doing no small service to the cause of truth, and elevating themselves not a little above the common mass of the people, they rejected now this, now that, dogma from the old system, while at the same time they retained a multitude of others, as true, which, for the same reasons, ought likewise to have been rejected. By this means, the whole of doctrinal theology was rendered so fluctuating and insecure, that nothing could any longer be said of it, as a system. Very few knew where they were. Having taken away confidence in the old system, in which the Scriptures decided every thing, without being sufficiently resolute to reject all Scriptural authority, and follow the dictates of reason alone, they fell into a strange kind of capitulation with the two; at one time, sought to abate something from the Scriptures in order to satisfy reason, at another, rendered it so obliging as to admit the validity of some things which stood too obviously on the face of Scripture to be rejected; and by means of this mediation and negociation, now looked upon reason as the rightest, and then the Scriptures, according as the mediator and negociator felt inclined to act the interpreter or the philosopher, and the other circumstances in which he was placed, seemed to call for caution or to authorize licentiousness.

Was Lessing to blame for embracing every opportunity to ridicule this lamentable workmanship of the illuminating theologians, and declare aloud, that it disgusted him and bore no comparison with the old consistent Orthodoxy?*

* Compare Lessing's Works, already quoted, Th. V. S. 25 f.; and Lessing's Leben, nebst seinem noch übrigen literarischen Nachlasse, Th. I. S. 311. Other men of excellent genius, who, as they were not theologians, felt themselves free from restraint, have expressed the same opinion. "What should we not expect," says Sturz, "from the priest, who makes known all the duties of benevolence as the laws of God's love, spreads abroad the terror of God's almighty power, and excites feelings in favor of more elevated virtue, and anticipations of a rewarding futurity, if he were now clothed with that sacred

It was utterly impossible, indeed, for me, to resolve to share in it, as it was necessary for me to define my knowledge and reduce it to connexion. For me, therefore, only two courses were left. I was obliged either to reject the Gospel and all divine revelation, and become a strict Rationalist, or else to make reason subordinate to the Scriptures in matters of faith, and become a strict Supernaturalist. The former I could not do. Revelation appeared to me to have too much in its favor, to permit me to look upon it as error and deception. In proportion as I became acquainted with the contentions, contradictions, and errors of human reason, I learned to consider the Deity's revealing his will to us, not only as a desirable act of benevolence, but as regards our wants, a matter of necessity. And finally, I had derived such benefit to my own heart from the Scriptures, to which I had adhered from my earliest youth, and so often, as I believed, experienced their divine power, that I should have been obliged to act against duty and conscience, had I resolved to break away from them. For me, therefore, no choice was left. I was obliged to give myself up to the influence of revelation, and, without exception, admit the truth of every thing that had been proved out of the Scriptures. Now the system of doctrines professed by the Evangelical church, appeared to me to accord far more with the Scriptures, than any other. It was impossible for me not to see, that it was connected in itself, strictly consistent, and easy to be reconciled with reason, as soon as she becomes conscious of her boundaries, and refrains from meddling with indemonstrable assertions. It was very natural, therefore, that I should firmly adhere to the system of our church and deliver its doctrines in the cathedral and the pulpit, without suffering myself to be disturbed in the least degree, by what was brought forward to oppose them. In so doing, however, I did not approve of every definition and improvement which had been introduced into this system in con-

dignity which formerly exalted religion more than it did the man? The priest, however, has been degraded by wit, laughed at for believing in mysteries, and defamed for firmly adhering to ancient creeds. Accordingly, he strives against contempt, improves, explains, finds fault, and forms agreements, rises up in rebellion against symbolical servitude, and gives much to save a very little. Thus, the venerable ambassador of God has sunk down into a man-pleasing chatterer." Schriften von Sturz, Th. I. S. 209, 210.

nexion with the demonstrable doctrines of the Scriptures, by the ancient theologians and polemics. It was only the latter, that I held fast and sought to exhibit in that connexion, which they have in the Scriptures, and which binds them firmly together, and renders them a consistent whole. With reason I could reconcile them so much the easier from the fact, that no scholastic system had confused my vision, or robbed me of the freedom of looking about me on every side. From a careful study of all the philosophical systems in existence, I had returned with a decided mistrust in all the speculations of human reason. In every system with which I had made myself acquainted, even the most celebrated, but especially in those which arrogantly laid claim to apodictical certainty, I had discovered so many weak parts, that I deemed it most advisable to declare myself in favor of none of them; and in philosophy, to adhere to that party which advocates the right of examining every thing. No one will wonder, therefore, that Kant's system, which made its appearance about this time with such extensive pretensions to universal authority, produced no change in my thoughts. But a few years passed away, before they were recognized for what they really were, and many who had been fooled by them at first, returned back from their error.

From what I have uttered with such frankness, you will draw the conclusion, my dear friend, that the ground upon which I stand with such firmness, is divine revelation; that my principles, so far as they are determined, are the fundamental truths of the Gospel. To me, indeed, useful knowledge of every kind, is welcome. To every species of it, I rejoice to accede its relative importance, and that degree of certainty which it does or ought to possess. I am by no means indifferent to the efforts and investigations of philosophizing reason. On the other hand, I have made myself acquainted with them as far as possible. The teachings of the Gospel, however, constitute my criterion for judging of every thing, the grand test, and serve as a leading-string to guide me in the labyrinths of human error. From taking this position, I derive more than one advantage. In particular, I can extend my knowledge around me on every every side; for by so doing, I always gain

something for the main object which I have in view. That I did well in taking this course, I have been more than once convinced from my own experience. I have met with opinions, historical assertions, whole systems, which had the appearance of truth, but which I was obliged to pronounce false, because they contradicted my views of Evangelical truth. Do not suppose, however, that I satisfied myself with rejecting such things directly off hand. From the very fact that they blinded, I always made it my duty to give them an impartial examination; and hitherto, I have always come to the result, that they were untenable, and ought to be rejected for other reasons abstracted from the consideration, that they were at variance with the Gospel. He who has had this experience often and in matters of importance, will look upon the Gospel more and more as divine truth, and believe it impossible for him to take a safer course than receive it as such, and regulate his judgment accordingly.

So then, as you remark, the main point in my convictions is a mere faith in authority. I am not an independent thinker, following my own thoughts and standing upon my own feet, but, like a minor, unable, as yet, to judge for himself, I adhere to the authority and declarations of the Scriptures. I have nothing to oppose to what you say, but must accede to its truth. I beg you to examine a little more closely, however, the position in which I stand, compared with that of the Rationalist. He believes as well as myself. His faith is in the declarations of reason. To her authority he yields a universal, unconditional obedience. My faith is in the Author of reason, because, in the teachings of the Gospel, I recognize divine declarations and revelations. Is this kind of faith less compatible with the dignity of human nature, than the former?* Besides, he, who, while he believes in the Gospel, acquires a knowledge of the positions which human reason works out of herself, and leaves nothing unexamined, is called upon to go through more investigation and exhibit a higher measure of independence in thinking, than he, who has either

* "Licet locus ab auctoritate," says the acute Thomas Aquinas, "quae fundatur super ratione humana, sit infirmissimus: locus tamen ab auctoritate, quae fundatur super reuelatione diuina, est efficacissimus. Summ. Theol. Part I. quaest. I. art. 8.

made his Rationalistic system for himself, and brought his investigations to a close, or else passes over from one system to another, and always declares in favor of the last. And finally, that that man will succeed the best as a preacher, who founds every thing upon the authority of God, and can always appeal to revelation to prove that he utters the will and express demands of Jehovah, is a matter, my friend, which you must look upon as self-evident. A man produces an entirely different effect when he speaks in the name of God, from what he does, when he is obliged to appeal merely to the principles of reason. The great mass of the people, the female sex, and a large proportion of those who pass for learned men, can never be made independent thinkers. Without authority they cannot even stand. And can you name to me any that is better, more exalted, and more generally recognized, than that of the Scriptures, as far as they are considered as the word of God? Do they not justify themselves to such a degree by the extraordinary appeals which they make to the human heart, as to leave every other authority incapable of a comparison with them ?*

Here, however, I must give you a glance into my heart, which will, perhaps, fill you with great surprise; but which will completely solve for you the riddle of my unshaken adherence to the Gospel in general, and to the doctrines of our church in particular. To do it in a few words; in the relation in which I stand to God, I need a *Saviour* and *Mediator*, and just such an one as *Christ is*. After having paid long and close attention to my heart and its real condition, as well as to the language of my moral feelings, I find myself totally unable to comprehend, how any one can be bold enough to rely confidently upon his own virtue in the presence of God, or even to expect the Grace of God and the forgiveness of his sins, without having received some express assurance from his Maker to this effect. The natural condition of the human heart appears to me to be so miserable and distracted; I have found every thing

* [With the above remarks, and those on page 62 ff., compare Tzschirner's Briefe, u. s. w. S. 47—65; where he makes some observations respecting the high vaunts and promises of *Naturphilosophie*, its small and unsatisfying performances, and the sad effects of introducing it into the pulpit,—observations worthy the attentive perusal of all engaged in deep speculations.]

denominated human virtue so very defective in myself and others, and so far below every thing which God may and must require of his rational creatures; that I cannot, and never could, see how it is possible for the sinner to be rendered worthy and certain of the Grace of God, and be brought into better relations to him, without his help, and a divine contrivance for this particular purpose. That the guilt of sins once committed can never be diminished, much less taken away, by any subsequent reformation, is as clear as the sun. On the other hand, it will only be rendered so much the greater thereby, inasmuch as the fact, that the man acts differently now, shows that he might have done so before, if he had earnestly desired to. And as to this reformation, however real and thorough, what is it? O! I appeal to every one possessed of tender, susceptible moral feelings, and acquainted with the qualities of a good action, to tell me, whether it can meet with the approbation of the Supreme and Omniscient Judge. Will the best of men be able to extoll their virtue before him? Will not all their courage fail when examined in the presence of their Maker? Will they not be obliged to confess, that the very best actions they ever performed, are not only entirely destitute of merit, but in addition thereto, so very defective and so far below every thing which God may and must require, that, instead of expecting complete justification, or, perhaps, a reward, they will have to entreat for connivance and forbearance? This humiliating feeling of personal unworthiness has not only not been diminished in me, as I have advanced in goodness, but been rendered stronger and more vivid. Indeed, the defectiveness of human virtue must necessarily become more striking, in exact proportion as the moral sensibilities are purified and quickened by the progress of reformation; for he, who has made advances in goodness, will be more pained at little faults and impurities, which the unreformed and beginners in virtue, do not even perceive, than the latter are at gross errors.

Such being the language and character of my moral feelings, it is absolutely necessary to my tranquillity for me to have a declaration from God himself, that he is able and willing to forgive sin, and also a knowledge of the means

by which this can be done in a way in every respect worthy of God, and adapted to the moral nature of man. The divine institution, agreeably to which, through Christ and his death, all sinners who assent to the conditions, can be pardoned, seems to me to unite in itself every thing that can be wished for, in this respect. With it, I cannot myself dispense; for, by means of it, though conscious of my sins and imperfections, I have confidence in God, inasmuch as it takes away the necessity of my obtaining the favor of God by my own merits, a thing impossible, and authorizes me to expect the love of God in Christ. My joy in God rests upon the assurance, that in hoping and praying, I can appeal, not to personal merit, for of this I have none, but to the merit and mediation of a person whom God has, in the most explicit terms, announced and distinguished, as the one through whom salvation can be conferred upon our race. That a faithful adherence to this supreme and adorable Saviour, is exalting to the mind; that a close and intimate communion with him, exerts a wonderful influence in purifying the heart and leading one on diligently to make attainments in holiness; that daily occupation with him, and the inspiring contemplation of his exaltation and his example, prove a blessing to the whole internal man; and, finally, that he who can say, "Nevertheless, I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me," has acquired new power, and another and more exalted mode of existence;—all this, every one who has, from his whole heart, yielded obedience to the conditions laid down by God, for acceptance in Christ, knows by experience; and others would not understand me, should I attempt to tell them ever so much about it.

But enough has been said respecting the orthodox character of my sermons. I rejoice to leave all to their own opinions, and can endure to have every one follow his own convictions, however unlike or opposed they may be, to mine. But from my heart do I wish that others would exhibit the same reasonableness and forbearance towards me, and not rise up in hostility against me, because I teach as my conscience obliges me to do. Let it be remembered, "That every one of us shall give an account of himself to God." The Lord will judge us all, "But other

foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it."* Farewell.

LETTER X.

His mode of proceeding in the invention and choice of themes—Need of philosophy, &c.—Of variety—Common-place-book of subjects—Mode of examining historical texts—Must throw ourselves back into the age—Kinds of knowledge requisite—Illustrations—Aids—Didactic texts—Different kinds of them—Mode of treatment—Illustrations—Must conceive ourselves in the circumstances in which these texts were written.

MY DEAR FRIEND—

I will not deny, that at the close of my last letter, I fell somewhat into a ministerial strain. Pardon this small error. It very naturally resulted from the subject upon which I was writing. I shall guard myself hereafter against every thing of the kind, and confine my whole attention to the form and construction of my sermons. Here you expect me to be particular; and agreeably to the request of your former letter, I will, in the first place, give you an account of my usual mode of proceeding in the invention and choice of subjects.

Of course, you do not here expect from me a treatise

* [It is delightful to find Christians every where breathing forth the same spirit. However remotely born and differently educated from each other, they evidently become one in Christ Jesus, while others are driven about by every wind of doctrine, and seem to have nothing or little, firm and stable. This remark is suggested by the close correspondence of Reinhard's views with those of Prof. Stuart and others, in our own country. See Stuart's Letters to the Rev. Wm. E. Channing, in various places, particularly, pp. 112 f. 149 f. 155 f.]

upon *invention*, as it was called by the ancient rhetoricians, or the working out of a text and the several themes deduced from it, as it is denominated by homiletical writers. I shall not write a book either upon homiletics or rhetoric. All that you wish to know, is, how I have discovered so many themes which others never thought of, and been enabled to deduce more useful subjects from apparently barren texts, than one could have imagined them to contain. I can in a few words describe to you the method I usually pursued, in searching after and making choice of my main positions.

In the first place I must observe, that without a knowledge of philosophy in general, and an intimate acquaintance with many parts of it in particular, as psychology and ethics for instance, a man never can succeed very well in the invention of subjects. To deduce any thing useful and attractive from a text, and develop it in an appropriate manner, a man must have thought much upon the character of human nature, its excellencies, wants, inclinations and necessities, as well as its duties and rights; —must have contemplated it in all situations and at every stage of improvement;—must, with untiring diligence, have availed himself of history and experience, and, by these means, have collected together a great treasure of valuable materials. He, who is deficient in these respects,—who does not always look upon nature with philosophical eyes and make it his constant study, should not wonder if he generally fails of obtaining good subjects for his sermons, and, in a text which has been selected for a discourse, finds it impossible to perceive, what, experienced eyes discover at a single glance.

I have to add, that the necessity I was long under, of preaching upon the same portions of the Gospels, sometimes more than once a year, contributed not a little to awaken and quicken in me the spirit of invention.* As my sermons were all printed, and my people could easily

* [The custom of the French preachers alluded to by Dr. Blair (Lecture XXIX.) of taking their texts from the usual lesson of the day, prevails also among the Lutherans of Germany. American ministers being under no such constraint much of this letter might perhaps have been omitted. As however it throws some light upon the proper mode of handling texts, it is retained in full.]

calculate for me, I was obliged to think of something new, as often as I returned to the same text, and must admit, that this led me to the discovery of many things which otherwise would probably have escaped me.

But, in truth, you will say, every minister who has to preach constantly from the same texts, finds himself under the same necessity, and yet every one does not succeed in discovering something new. Here, in the first place, let me tell you of a means of invention which I have often found of very excellent service. I am in the habit of writing down those thoughts which occur to me in reading, regular reflection, or incidentally, and are worthy of being treated of in detail in a sermon, just as they present themselves to my mind at the moment, without having any particular object in view. If then, at any time, I meet with difficulty in finding something appropriate in a text upon which I am called to preach, I recur to this catalogue of interesting thoughts, in order to see whether some of them cannot be made to bear upon the text in question. This often proves to be the case; and in this way, I have been led to many happy combinations, of which I should otherwise never have thought.

I should observe, however, that I have never resorted to this method, except when I have found it difficult to obtain any thing useful by reflecting upon the text itself. In general, a text needs only to be rightly understood and properly investigated, in order to furnish more than one useful subject. Permit me to show you the method of examining both historical and didactical texts and working them out, which I have found the most advantageous.

In handling a historical text, the object of all a man's efforts as I conceive, should be to transfer himself to the historical theatre of action, and, as vividly as possible, imagine every thing to be present with all its circumstances, and passing as it were before his eyes. To do this, a man must consider every narration in its connexion with what precedes and succeeds; must as accurately as possible, conceive of the time and place in which every thing happened; must examine into the causes and occasions of every event; must call to mind all the contemporary circumstances and effects which either stand in connexion

with what a man has before him, or throw light upon it; and finally, must bring with him the laws of a correct historical interpretation, and take every thing in the spirit and sense of the times to which it belongs.

Now if a man, guided by these general preparatory measures, directs his attention to the acting persons, and looks at the opinions, dispositions, wishes, and necessities they express; if a man observes the morals and character they exhibit; if a man searches after those impressions and results which every word, every assertion, every step of the acting persons, produced; and finally, if a man looks at the effects which such results may have produced in general and as a whole;—if a man does all this, it is scarcely possible for him not to arrive at something which deserves to be farther reflected upon, and treated of in detail.

While a man does all this, however, it is equally necessary for him not only to form an accurate acquaintance with all the circumstances and wants of his own age and community, but to keep himself, we may say, always full of them. As reflection is ever discovering new subjects well worthy of close investigation, a man must have some decided reason for prefering one to another. This reason cannot be drawn by a conscientious preacher from the greater ease with which one subject can be treated of, than another; nor from the desire or inclination which he feels for examining a particular theme. He must carefully select and treat of that subject, which, in view of all the circumstances and well known necessities of his hearers, he considers as the most appropriate, and best calculated to produce useful effects upon their hearts. It is only by so doing, that every sermon can be rendered, as it were, a word spoken in season, a discourse expressly adapted to the occasion, and the preacher be secured against the error of fluttering around common-place topics, and such, as can do his hearers no good.

Permit me, my dear friend, to illustrate what I have said, by some examples. The Gospel for the seventh Sunday after Trinity, Mark 8. 1—9, cannot be considered as one of the most useful portions of Scripture. From it, however, if treated in the manner I have described,

many very interesting subjects may be deduced. I will mention only those which I have myself drawn from it and worked out. In the first place, it immediately presents us with some general subjects of a very useful character; as for example: *God can and will richly bless what is small and insignificant;* see the Sermons of 1796. *The virtue of contentment,* (the multitude had nothing to eat but barley bread and fishes,) *is of far more importance than is ordinarily supposed;* see the Sermons of 1801. *There is always something very wonderful in the manner in which God sustains us;* see the Sermons upon Providence, Pred. I. *How Christian benevolence should be practised in times of public want;* see the Sermons of 1805. This subject was suggested by the scarcity then prevalent.

Now if a man conceives of the whole transaction as passing before him in the manner I have just described, he will be able to deduce from it as naturally as before, subjects of equal importance. The whole affair took place in an uninhabited region. This leads us to the reasons, *Why Jesus chose to collect his hearers around him in solitary regions;* see the *Sermons for quickening the moral sensibilities,** Pred. XIII. It was a matter of no small difficulty to preserve order among several thousand men some days, in a retired place, without any form of police or civil power. As the Lord evidently maintained this order by the authority he then enjoyed, *It shews us in general the silent influence always exerted by the presence of virtue upon mankind;* see the Sermons of 1795. Farther, circumstanced as Christ was, in regard to the multitude, he could expect no assistance from any one but himself. His disciples had no advice to give him. This gives rise to the very important consideration, *That Christians should in all circumstances depend upon themselves rather than others;* see the Sermons of 1797. The dispositions, feelings and designs which had induced this multitude to seek after Jesus, were doubtless very impure. Nevertheless, Jesus treated them with the greatest kindness, and his example in this respect should teach *Christians the tenderness with which they ought to regard even imperfect attempts in*

* Zur Schärfung des sittlichen Gefühls.

goodness; see the Sermons of 1800. That many disagreeable consequences would have resulted from Christ's neglecting to remedy the wants into which the people had brought themselves, by imprudently tarrying in a place in which no sustenance was to be had, is perfectly evident. At the foundation we must be constantly sustained by the providence of God, and this forces upon us the reflection, *How miserable should we be, if God did not continually deliver us from the effects of our own improvidence;* see the Sermons of 1799. The Lord, on this occasion, satisfied both corporeal and intellectual wants. This leads us to *The connexion which God has instituted between the necessity of sustaining the body by nourishment, and the formation and improvement of the mind;* see the Sermons of 1802. It is evident that the apostles, notwithstanding their embarrassment, did not request Christ to exert his miraculous power. *Hence, it is highly deserving our attention, that the apostles never required miracles of their Lord;* see the Sermons of 1803. The people by their anxiety to enjoy the intercourse and instruction of Jesus, were brought into the danger of suffering the greatest want, from which, however, they were happily saved; *and so also, there are times which we may devote to appropriate and pious exercises without suffering any temporal disadvantage;* see the Sermons of 1808. The Lord kept the people by him for three days, and finally ended his instructions not only at the right time, but in the best manner. *From him, therefore, we should learn, that much depends upon our knowing how to end every good action in a right manner;* see the Sermons published at Wittemberg, Th. II. Pred. X.

When the Gospel for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity, comes up, Mark 7:31—37, the minister usually expends all his zeal upon the last words: "He hath done all things well," transforming them into a common-place topic, though they are far from constituting one, and making them introduce various remarks respecting the beneficent goodness of God and Jesus Christ. He, however, who, by the means above recommended, throws himself into the circumstances related by the Evangelist, will find many other things in them to consider. The history itself will immediately

lead him to reflect upon *the fate of those unfortunate persons, to whom nature has given defective bodies.* See the Sermons of 1801. The unfortunate person who was brought to Christ could neither hear nor speak. This leads us to the general subjects: *How Christians should regard the faculty of speech;* see the Sermons of 1805; and *a true Christian disposition must be exhibited in conversation;* see the Sermons of 1797. It was misapprehension which led the people to blaze abroad the miracles of Jesus, in direct opposition to his command. This furnishes an occasion for describing *Christian conduct in regard to the misapprehensions of common life.* This theme I handled in a sermon delivered in 1792, but not yet printed. In 1794, I spoke from this same passage respecting *the different impressions which our good actions usually make upon others,* a subject suggested by the effects of Christ's miracle upon the multitude. *This* sermon is not printed. The Lord did not wish to have the miracle which he performed, spread abroad. *Christians should also do good with a zeal which operates in silence;* see the Sermons of 1796. It is very apparent, that Jesus conducted very differently in concealing this miracle, from what he did, when he performed his wonders by a word of his power. *His conduct, therefore, in healing this deaf-mute, merits special attention;* see the Sermons of 1804. In particular, the Lord employed more ceremonies in this case, than he had done in others. This leads us to the duty of *imparting a certain degree of solemnity to many of our actions;* see the Sermons published at Wittemberg, Th. II. Pred. XIII. If now we reflect upon what is said at the beginning of the passage, that Jesus had returned from another region, into which he had been driven by the hatred of the Jewish officers at Jerusalem, and hence, was obliged to avoid exciting any thing like curiosity, we shall not only immediately discover the reason why, in this case, he so earnestly interdicted the publication of his miracle, but be astonished at his zeal to do good to his people, which, notwithstanding the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, broke forth again, as soon as he returned. This *gives occasion for exhibiting the perseverance with which Jesus did good;* see the Sermons of 1808.

Among all the historical portions of the Gospels, however, upon which one is ordinarily obliged to preach, there is none shorter, more barren, and less adapted to the day on which it must be explained, than the text for new year's day, Luke 2:21. One would suppose, that without indulging in considerations in nowise connected with the text, he would be greatly troubled to find any thing in it edifying and appropriate to speak from, only a few times; especially so, as what is said, is to be adapted to the beginning of the year. Permit me, therefore, my dear friend, to show you the usefulness of my mode of invention as above described, by applying it to this text, and thence deducing a series of themes which I have worked out. I will bring them forward in the order in which the sermons written from them, were delivered.

As circumcision completed Christ's entrance into life, and marked his entrance upon his civil and ecclesiastical relations, so at Wittemberg, in 1785, I spoke from the position: *Reflections upon our entrance into life, constitute a useful preparation for our entrance upon a new year;* see the Sermons printed at Wittemberg, Th. I. Pred. I. Jesus, having, by means of circumcision, been brought into connexion with the ecclesiastical community of his nation, submitted to very weighty duties and obligations. Accordingly, in 1793, I showed, *How, as we enter upon a new year, we should recollect, that by multiplying our connexions, we multiply our sorrows.* This sermon is not printed. As the reception of Jesus into the community of the Jewish Church, was attended with great advantages, so the following year, I explained the position, *On entering upon a new year, we should think of the good, God accomplishes for us, by means of human society.* *This* sermon is not printed. In the very morning of life, Jesus found that he had been consecrated by circumcision to the covenant of God. This gave occasion, in the year 1795, for showing, *How the morning of a new year should be consecrated by a grateful recollection of the benefits conferred upon us by God, in the morning of life.* Only eight days after his birth, Jesus felt the important influence of time, became a member of the Jewish nation, and thus obtained a particular direction for his education and his destiny.

This led me, in the year 1796, to the rich position, *that we are the children of time, under the guidance of God.* Jesus, on being circumcised, received his name. This thought very naturally gave rise to the position, *that we shall spend this year the best, if we esteem our name of as much importance, as true Christians should.* This theme was treated of, in the year 1797. Circumcision marked the reception of a person into the bosom of the Israelitish church. This, in 1798, furnished an occasion *for reminding Christians of their reception into the bosom of Christ's Church.* From the unwavering faith, with which, in joyful hope, the mother of Jesus, notwithstanding her severe poverty and sufferings, rested upon what had been told her at the very outset, by the angel, respecting her son, occasion was taken, in 1799, to describe *the victory of hope over suffering, and to apply the whole to entering upon a new year.* The year 1800, closed the century. Now, as the birth and circumcision of Jesus closed the preceding age of the world, and commenced a new one, entirely different from the former, so, from the peculiarities which Jesus imparted to his century, occasion was taken to show, *How, by a serious retrospection of the peculiarities of the departed century, we should prepare for the last year of it.* The following year commenced the new century. The painful, and, in respect to the life and preservation of a new-born infant, critical change, through which Jesus was called to pass, when only eight days old, and by which he was immediately bound to the performance of very weighty duties, furnished an opportunity *for exhortations to Christian earnestness in entering upon a new century.* At the beginning of the year 1802, the circumstance, that much of great importance happened to Jesus during the first eight days of his life, and time, as it were, hurried away with him, was taken up; and hence, *the fleetness of time was made the subject of consideration.* It was, indeed, a painful, but a benevolent duty, which subjected a child, born of Jewish parents, to circumcision, when eight days old. From this was drawn the position, *How much reason have we, on entering a new year, to bless the constraints of duty.* The low circumstances in which Jesus found himself at the time of his circumcision, and the laborious

duties heaped upon him, by means of this ordinance, led, in 1805, to *a consideration of the serious aspect which this life presents to every unconstrained observer.* By means of circumcision, Jesus was introduced into relations entirely new, and, in his circumstances, unavoidable. The inhabitants of Saxony also found themselves, at the commencement of 1807, introduced into new relations by means of an important and encouraging peace, which had been concluded on the last week of the preceding year. *Serious reflections upon the new and unavoidable relations into which the new year had introduced us, therefore, seemed to be the most suitable to the circumstances of the occasion*, though all reference to particular political relations, was avoided, as improper. And, finally, from the fact, that he who was circumcised, had a course of life before him full of painful duties, and needed much resoluteness to perform them, occasion was taken, in the year 1808, *to speak of the presence of mind with which we should meet the future.*

You will observe, my dear friend, that, to discover these subjects, nothing farther was necessary, than to transfer myself, as much as possible, to the circumstances described in the text, and thus contemplate them in their whole connexion, and all their bearings upon the person and fate of Jesus; and, at the same time, with a steady reference to the new year, and the existing wants of my hearers. Now, he who proceeds in this way, whenever a historical text comes up;—who, if I may so speak, knows well how to find his position in two different worlds, that of his text and his own, will always succeed in discovering interesting themes. To such a man something will always present itself, which harmonizes equally well with his text and the necessities of his hearers.

With this, a man, who would throw himself, as he ought to do, into all the circumstances of every event, and reflect upon them with success, must also connect a diligent study of Biblical history in general, and of Evangelical history in particular. A frequent and connected reading of the Evangelists, a careful comparison of their accounts, an accurate knowledge of the geography and natural history of Palestine, and an intimate acquaintance with the cir-

cumstances and affairs of the age to which the whole Evangelical history belongs, can hardly fail to lead a man to rich views and subjects; especially, if, at the same time, he calls to his aid such works as treat of Evangelical history in general, or of particular parts of it, with acuteness and happy effect. Among the ancient writers, there is none, in my opinion, more deserving of recommendation in this respect, than Chrysostom. His homilies upon the Gospels contain many excellent views and important hints, which are expressly adapted to lead a man on to farther reflection. Among modern writers, no one has made better preparation for the minister who wishes for interesting remarks upon Evangelical history, than Hess,* upon it, in his well known work. In exhibiting the connexion, the full purpose, the rich instruction, and the impressiveness and dignity of this history, he evinces an altogether peculiar tact, which guides him with uncommon success, and often enables him to make the most important discoveries in the smallest circumstances. The Commentary of Paulus upon the Gospels, also exhibits many interesting views and combinations, but they are so interwoven and obscured with a multitude of constrained and improbable suppositions, as to be undiscoverable without a great deal of labor.

And now, as to didactical texts. The matter to be treated of in handling such texts, whether theoretical or practical, is sometimes in such a form and of such a character, as to leave a man no choice, but to force itself upon him as the principal subject of his discourse, if he would not directly contradict the text itself. In this case, every thing, as I think, depends upon, whether all that is requisite for a fundamental treatment of this given subject, is furnished in the text, and can be deduced, from it, without feebleness or constraint. If so, a man must confine himself to the text, and, by a natural or free analysis, draw every thing from it. In this way. he will gain from the ease with which every thing is comprehended and impressed upon the memory, and the manner in which the hearers are introduced to the Scriptures and led profitably to read them and reflect upon them. If not, a man should bring his subject as far as possible in connexion with the

* [Ueber die Lehren, Thaten und Schicksale unsers Herrn.]

words of the text, and then supply all deficiences from his own meditations. The sermon delivered on the first fast of the year 1809, is an example of the first kind. The subject of it as well as all the subdivisions, being drawn from the text itself. The sermon which was prepared for the second fast in 1808, and treats upon *lukewarmness in religion*, is an example of the second. Every thing belonging to the subject itself could not be drawn from the text, but it could be easily supplied and brought in contact with it. There is also a case, in which the subject is so prescribed as not to permit the selection of another which is appropriate, especially when the texts are short and composed of a few words or verses. More extended didactical texts admit of a greater range in the mode of treatment. I pass on therefore to their consideration.

It is well known, that most of the lessons taken from the epistles, constitute such copious didactical texts. There are however, even among them, two classes of texts, to be distinguished from each other; such as are wholly devoted to a single subject, and such as comprise several. To the first class for instance, belong the epistle for the Sunday *Esto mihi*, 1 Cor. 13, in which *the excellencies of Christian charity are extolled*, and the epistle for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, 1 Cor. 15: 1—10, which treats *altogether of the resurrection of Christ*. In handling such texts, if a man prefers not to select a single circumstance, and, omiting all the rest, enlarge upon it from his own meditations, (a mode of sermonizing which greatly facilitates the minister's progress, but prevents him from doing ample justice to his text,) he must adhere firmly to the main contents of the text, and carry out the given subject in a natural, or a free analysis. The method of doing this, agreeably to the *natural* order of the text, may be seen, by consulting a sermon upon a text taken from one of the epistles and delivered in 1806, on the Sunday *Esto mihi*. The epistle for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, on the other hand, must, if one wishes to explain the principal thought it contains, *the importance of the resurrection of Jesus*, he subjected to a *free* analysis; a process, which is illustrated by a sermon delivered this same year, upon this portion of Scripture.

The minister, however, has to contend with far more difficulties, in handling those didactical texts which contain as it were a collection of subjects which do not properly belong together. Most of the sermons upon texts selected from the epistles, will show any man who examines them, the advantages to be derived from selecting one of the subjects contained in such a text and neglecting all the rest. This class of texts is commonly treated of agreeably to this very easy method. If however a man wishes to do more justice to his text and employ it in its whole extent, he must endeavor to obtain a general head under which all the particulars of it can be conveniently arranged in an easy and agreeable connexion. The mode of doing this, I have endeavored to show, in a sermon upon a text taken from one of the epistles and delivered in the year 1806. As this manner of handling texts taken from the epistles, has been well treated, and judiciously and acutely explained, especially by the Rev. Mr. Nebe, the only fault with whose essay upon the subject I have to find, is, his extravagant praise of myself,* you will permit me, my friend, to confine myself to a very few remarks.

Many a text which appears very barren in itself considered, is rendered very rich and productive, as soon as it is connected with a general subject, drawn from an extended view of it and the connexion in which it stands. I have handled the difficult epistle for the Sunday of *Laetare*, Gal. 4: 21—31, in this way; and it is evident at first glance, that the principal subject of my discourse is perfectly agreeable to the text, and yet sufficiently interesting, to be treated of in detail.

What I said a little back, respecting the necessity of transferring one's self to the circumstances of time and place connected with the text, and conceiving them to be passing before his eyes, in order to obtain correct views respecting it, is also true with regard to didactical texts. If for instance, a man is able to imagine all the circumstances present under which an apostle wrote a text, taken from

* This essay is to be found in the third part of the 25th volume of the Neues Journal für Prediger, S. 257 ff.

one of his epistles, it will be easy for him to discover the general truth to which the particular event narrated, belongs; and by abstracting this truth from it, he will be able to make a profitable use of the various parts and representations of the text. The Sermon delivered on the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, from the Epistle 1 Cor. 9 : 6—13, affords the best illustration of this point.

This lively conceiving of the circumstances to be present, under which the apostles wrote their letters and sent them to the churches, is also adapted to lead a man to general ideas under which to arrange and connect together in an appropriate manner, all the various contents of a text. The twelfth chapter of the epistle of Paul to the Christians at Rome, is well known to be divided into three lessons, which must be explained on the first, second, and third Sunday after the feast of Epiphany. At the first glance, this chapter appears to contain a multitude of admonitions and moral precepts having but little connexion with each other, and that, altogether of an incidental character. If however a man imagines himself altogether in the condition of the apostle; if he asks, why the apostle made exactly these suggestions and admonitions and no others; if he only endeavors to ascertain, whether they had reference to the condition of Christians in that place and their relations to the other parts of the world, it will soon be made to appear, that the object which the apostle had before him, was, the peculiar and decided character which the Gospel gave to those who embraced it; thus rendering them the choicest men of the age. If any one comprehends this general idea, he will discover the order and connexion which prevails, at a single glance. He will perceive, that in the first lesson, Christians are distinguished from the rest of the world *by being members of a church;* in the second, *by their noble personality;* and in the third, *by their excellencies.*

But enough, upon this subject. I must ask your pardon, my dear friend, for having entered into such a detailed explanation of my usual manner of inventing themes. Had you known how talkative I should be upon this subject, you would scarcely have mentioned it. If however,

I have said any thing which will be of use to young ministers, I am certain before hand of your indulgence. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

Many object to the logical arrangement of sermons—Answered—The arrangement should not be concealed—Points out faulty arrangements in his sermons—Warns young preachers against too great attention to arrangement—Against uniformity of arrangement.

My Dear Friend—

You are right in expecting me now to give you a more extensive account of the arrangement and construction of my sermons.

I have already told you how I was led to the habit of planning my sermons with great strictness and precision, according to the rules of logic. This close and sometimes almost painful adherence to order and arrangement, from the manner in which my intellectual powers were formed and developed, became to me, as you will observe, like a second nature. The perverseness of my memory, of which I have already spoken, rendered it very difficult for me to get words and phrases by heart, or any thing but a strictly connected and methodically arranged series of thoughts. I was obliged, therefore, as a matter of necessity entirely independent of my will, to pay attention to order. And finally, having, as I told you above, after many years of experience, found it of great utility for a man to make his hearers acquainted with the several principal steps by which his discourse advances, I am convinced, that upon the whole it is necessary and beneficial for him, to give every sermon a logical arrangement and a firmly

connected and easily remembered plan, in order that thus, attentive hearers may know distinctly of what the discourse treats, and be able to give an account of it after it is delivered.

I am well aware, that objections have been made to this manner of sermonizing, Many preachers who would fain be looked upon as great orators, are of the opinion, that it is at variance with the laws of eloquence, to bind one's self in logical fetters, and altogether incompatible with that free soaring of thought, that fiery vehemence, with which the orator must express himself. I have only to reply, that strict order in a discourse is not only consistent with the idea of genuine eloquence which I drew from the ancients and stated above, but absolutely indispensable to it. Have not those gentlemen then, who would fain be considered as Demostheneses and Ciceros in the pulpit, (for I take it for granted that they have made themselves familiar with these wonderful men and read their works for themselves,) attentively observed with what accuracy, art, and constant reference to the specific object before them, they arranged their discourses, and, by disposing of the several parts agreeably to their relative importance, endeavored, by the happiest means, to render them useful and productive of the intended effect? Of the particular rules for arrangement laid down by all rhetoricians, and the earnestness with which attention to order is recommended, I will here say nothing. In general, however, people are acquainted with the so called fiery and overpowering eloquence of the ancients, only by hearsay; and hence, they confound it with the irregular, half-poetical, and chattering declamations of the *would be* orators of modern times, which rush as it were from one thing to another, and would cease to be overpowering, that is, puzzling, if reduced to logical order. And who, let me ask, among modern orators, has paid stricter and more careful attention to order, than the most celebrated preachers, as Saurin, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Blair, for instance, and others; and yet no one accuses these men of being destitute of vehemence and strength. Whether we look therefore to the nature of the case or to the best examples of every age, it is as clear as the sun, that the rules of oratory not only permit

an accurate arrangement of what a man has to say, but absolutely demand it.

But a sermon, continues one, should not consist of dry speculation, or cold instruction for the intellect. Whatever a man says in the church should excite and cherish religious feeling,—should operate upon the heart and awaken pious emotions,—should exalt the hearers above the affairs of time and sense, and fill them with a holy ardor for what is divine, and eternal. Now, what is less adapted to effect this great object, than a scholastic declamation carefully cut out and arranged according to the rules of art?

In reply to this, in the first place, it may be observed, that to impart instruction has at all times and with justice, been looked upon, as the principal object of preaching; and hence, the preacher has been called the teacher of the Gospel. He who banishes instruction from the pulpit and attempts to reduce every thing to the excitement of emotion, robs the ministerial office of a great part of its usefulness, and deprives the great mass of the people of almost every opportunity for the enlargement and correction of their religious knowledge. Moreover, I must absolutely deny the possibility of a man's exciting religious feeling and rendering it salutary and productive of exalted effects, otherwise than by commencing with convincing instruction and taking the way through the intellect to the heart. All his efforts to raise emotion by operating upon the imagination, will result in inflaming it and enkindling a wild-fire, which can prove of no advantage to genuine piety, and may positively injure it. A religious emotion, to be salutary and improving, and in a rational and profitable manner effect the exaltation of the mind, must be founded upon a lively perception of important truths vividly represented. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive of a discourse, which shall in reality take hold of, awaken and inspire the man, and prepare the way for, and raise, the emotions of the heart, without instruction. Now as this instruction will produce the most effect, if delivered with clearness and proper arrangement, it is impossible to see why strict method should not be combined with the object of affecting the heart.

While you are meditating upon a subject, then, some

one will say, let every thing be arranged in its proper place; but when you come to write it out and dress up this skeleton with skin and flesh, carefully conceal the various parts from the audience addressed, and then, their eyes will not discover a skeleton without spirit and life.

Let me tarry a while at the image which lies at the foundation of this remark. Nature does, indeed, cover up the bony fabric of a beautiful body with tender parts of various kinds, and thereby impart to it those powerful charms by which it allures the beholder; but does she, in so doing, reduce it to a mass of flesh, and make it impossible for us any longer to distinguish its single parts and members, discover their relation to each other, or point out their joints? On the other hand, is not this bony fabric, which constitutes the firm basis of the whole, so completely visible, that one can readily see where each member begins and ends, and how they are all connected together; and is it not this appropriate and natural compactness and these regular proportions, which render a beautiful form so pleasing? Now, to continue the image employed, a discourse, the whole organization, and the skeleton of whose thoughts are concealed by the manner in which it is written out, and the language in which it is clothed, will not constitute a beautiful body, full of life and motion, but can be looked upon, as nothing more than an unformed and helpless mass of flesh, which cannot be made into any thing, or be reckoned among any known class of forms. This, indeed, is the impression which such discourses ordinarily leave behind them. One who listens to them, hears much that is beautiful, but he cannot tell definitely in what it consists, and is unable to reduce it to any clear and distinct shape. I cannot persuade myself that such discourses ever accomplish any good.

Pardon my prolixity, my dear friend, in speaking of this subject. You agree with me, in the opinion, that every good sermon must be founded upon a correct, close, logical connexion, and have often told me that you were highly pleased with the particularity with which my sermons are generally composed, in this respect. I feel myself, however, under so much the greater obligations, not only honestly to point out some errors into which I have

fallen in regard to arrangement, but expressly to guard young ministers against them.

Far oftener than I could wish, the fundamental divisions of my sermons are such as can in no wise be justified by the rules of logic; or, to express myself more correctly, instead of dividing the theme itself, I have often arbitrarily connected with it, positions which it did not contain. The subject of the sixth sermon, for instance, of the *first* part of the sermons published at Wittemberg, is the following: *How shall a man conduct, when, in his religious inquiries, he is led to strange opinions?* Now, the *first division* contains considerations respecting the nature and character of strange opinions, and the *second* shows how a man should conduct himself, when he is led to such opinions. Now, it is evident, at first glance, that this is not a division of the subject, because the pretended *second division* comprehends the whole theme, in which the *first* is not contained. In order to comprehend these two divisions, the theme should have been expressed in more general terms. If, for instance, the discourse had been, *Respecting opinions in general which have something strange in them*, then, the *first division* would properly have been employed in explaining their nature and character, and the *second*, in treating of them, and giving them a critical examination. The twelfth sermon of the same volume, is headed: *Warnings against false conscientiousness*, and has three divisions; the *first* explains the nature of this error; the *second*, its signs and effects; and the *third* gives the reasons why it should be avoided. In this case, the *two first divisions* are not contained in the theme, according to which, I was merely to bring forward warnings against this error, while the *third* is the theme itself. Had the theme been expressed thus: *Respecting false conscientiousness*, then the *three preceding divisions* would have sustained a proper relation to it; and I should have had to consider the *nature* of false conscientiousness, its *characteristics*, and its *injurious effects*. The third sermon for the year 1798, treats of the following subject: *From the unexpected discovery of good qualities in others, we should draw nourishment for our own philanthropy.* As this position is a theorem which required proof, it was incapable of division,

and admitted of nothing more than an enumeration of the reasons brought forward in its support. I have divided it, however, and, contrary to all the rules of logic, in the *first division*, given illustrations of the unexpected discovery of good qualities in others, of which, however, there is no intimation in the theme itself; and, in the *second*, done the only thing that ought to have been done, brought forward reasons in proof of the main position. To adduce one more example: The eighth sermon of the second volume of the sermons published at Wittemberg, treats of the position: *Of what importance should we deem the thought, that eternity constitutes the exterior bound of every thing unstable.* In dividing it, I enter into an examination of the meaning, truth, and importance of this position. This, however, is not a logical division, for the *first* and *second heads* are not contained in the theme, while the *third* constitutes the theme itself. It would have been no more than tolerable, had the theme expressed nothing but the thought in general, without any reference to its importance. The examples now brought forward will be sufficient to designate the error I had in view. In them, as every one will see, I have so obviously contradicted the rules of logic in my divisions, as to be incapable of excuse. That one should occasionally fall into this error, in spite of effort to the contrary, is to be expected; but I have fallen into it so often, that I am ashamed of it. Any one who wishes for more instances of the same kind, may examine the second sermon of the second volume of the sermons published at Wittemberg, the seventh of the sermons of 1797, the sixth and the thirty-seventh of those of the year 1798, and the forty-third of the year 1799. Such being my faults in this respect, I feel under so much the greater obligations to guard others against them.

Another fault exhibited in many of my sermons, is far too anxious an effort to divide them perfectly methodically, and connect all their parts closely together. From one of my preceding letters, you have already learned, my dear friend, how I came by this stiff, scholastic habit, and why I have retained it so long.* I cannot, by any means, recommend it for imitation; in part, because such laborious

* See letter eighth.

preparations are not necessary for accomplishing the main object of preaching, and in part, and especially, because it may be productive of evil, in case a man has to do with common hearers, who are unpractised in thinking. Examples of this too great particularity in defining and classifying, are to be met with especially in my old sermons; in those which I have written of late years, I have endeavored to avoid it, without, I hope, running into the error of handling the subjects which came up, in a less thorough manner. Even here, also, for the sake of clearness, it will be necessary for me to illustrate what I mean, by a few examples. Compare, therefore, the fourth sermon of the first volume of the sermons published at Wittemberg, which treats of *Power to control the imagination;* the *first division* of which resembles a regularly composed and methodically divided fragment of a treatise upon psychology. The same remark holds true of the *first division* of the seventh sermon of the same volume; for of what use are all those illustrations respecting the nature, classes, and origin, of pious emotions? As every body knows what is meant by pious emotions in general, could not every thing necessary have been said in a few words or periods? In the eleventh sermon of the second volume, the explanation given of the manner in which God exhibits the internal worth of creatures by external signs, is far too circumstantial and scholastic, and all who read it, will directly feel, that every thing upon this part of the subject, might have been said in fewer words, and far more natural language, without doing any injury to the thoroughness of the view. In the first Whitsuntide sermon of the year 1798, which treats of spiritual experience, in the *first* part, far too much, and not altogether appropriate effort is made, by way of preparation, in what is said with such detail respecting general and moral experience, inasmuch as the idea of spiritual experience would have had sufficient clearness, without all these introductory explanations. The twenty-seventh sermon of 1799 has not only the error formerly alluded to, of not being logically and correctly divided, but in the first part, is burdened with illustrations of such ideas as are generally known, and should have been only briefly touched. That in writing out a sermon, every grand idea

should be rendered clear by correct definitions, is perfectly evident; otherwise, a man will not master his subject, and speak it with the requisite application. But this logical and preparatory labor does not belong to the sermon itself, in which every thing must be intelligibly represented, without any pedantic analysis of the subject. Young preachers should be warned to guard so much the more against this error, from the fact, that a man pleases himself in the thing, from the appearance which it gives him of philosophical acuteness, and the opinion in which he indulges, that it will increase his authority.*

Finally, I cannot deny, that far too much uniformity prevails in the arrangement or division of my sermons; an objection which has already, at different times, been made against them. This uniformity originated, in part, in the nature of the thing. A large proportion of subjects must be divided alike, if treated in the best and most natural manner; and a man will fall into artificialness, or fail to do them justice, if he divides them in any other way. The nature of the case, for example, requires a man, in every good sermon he preaches, to instruct the intellect with reference to every thing upon which he speaks, and then apply the whole to the improvement of the heart and life; or, which is the same thing, the first part should be theoretical, the second practical. It is impossible, therefore, to avoid the frequent recurrence of this mode of dividing a sermon, and hence, it cannot be blamed. The same is likewise true of certain *trichotomies* which are too natural not to be often employed. It is very natural for him who has to speak upon an interesting subject, to *explain*, *prove*, and *apply*. He who treats of an important duty, must, in like manner, explain it, and prove it, and lead the way to its practice. He who recommends a virtue, must give a clear notion of it, speak of its importance, and show by what exercises one can make it his own, &c. In such cases, the principal divisions are, in a manner, already given, and in handling such subjects, a man injures them rather than otherwise, if he attempts to divide them in any other manner.

* Hence, Greiling is perfectly correct, in warning ministers against a blind imitation of my sermons in this respect. Theorie der Popularität, S. 113 and 118.

I will not, by any means, deny, however, that the divisions and plans of my sermons are frequently uniform, when there was room for choice in the arrangement; and hence, when the train of thought would have admitted of greater variety. This was not only correctly remarked upon some years since, by the Rev. Mr. Linde, the author of the instructive work entitled: "Reinhard and Ammon, or parallel sermons as a contribution to Homiletics, particularly to arrangement and composition,"* but on p. 79 ff., accompanied with many interesting reflections, of quite an indulgent character as regards myself. This uniformity in arrangement is well founded, if it originates in a kind of inclination for symmetry, which exerted so much the more influence upon myself, from the fact that it proved so advantageous to my memory, enabling me easily to call to mind those parts which were thus accurately proportioned. That I ever made symmetry, however, an object of attention, at the expense of the subject itself; that, for instance, I ever cut away parts which belonged to the subject, or introduced parts entirely foreign from it, in order to have more or less divisions or sub-divisions than I deemed necessary to the harmony of the whole, is, at least, a thing which I am not conscious of ever having done. Hence, instances are to be found in which this symmetry is neglected, as the subject I was at work upon, required something else, and Mr. Linde, on the 82d page, has brought forward such an instance. Hence, in my fast sermons, two of which usually treat upon the same text, the second frequently takes a course entirely different from the first, inasmuch as the subject which it handles, which is an application of the theory explained in the first, either required or admitted a different arrangement.

In view of all that has now been said, I must request young preachers not to regard every thing symmetrical in my sermons, as an excellency worthy of imitation without the exercise of great caution. It should be so regarded only when this uniformity of divisions and sub-divisions is suggested by the subject itself, and far more radical and natural, than any other would be. Where this is not the case,—where a free division of the subject appears to

* Reinhard und Ammon oder Predigten Parallele, Königsb. 1800.

have the advantage of enabling a man to treat it in a more thorough manner, or introduce a greater variety into his discourse, it should certainly be preferred. My later sermons do in reality exhibit a greater degree of variety, than my others. At least, I have endeavored to be guided in their arrangement, by the subject selected and the principal divisions which naturally belonged to it, rather than an inclination to symmetry and an artificial admeasurement of divisions and sub-divisions. But enough of this thing. Permit me, my dear friend, in my next letter, to give you some account of the composition and execution of my sermons, and draw these confessions to a close. Farewell.*

LETTER XII.

Speaks of the composition of his Sermons—Their defects—Not adapted to country congregations—Examples—Difference of ancient and modern eloquence—Has used some figures of speech too often—Failed of easy transitions—Of a correct use of pronouns—Criticisms—Of publishing a selection of his Sermons.

My Dear Friend—

There is one other subject to speak of, namely the composition of my sermons, or what the ancient rhetoricians called elocution; and hence, their style. It is a subject of which much might be said. You will permit me, however, to treat it with brevity, and take notice only

* [Many excellent remarks upon the arrangement of Reinhard's sermons might here be added from others, particularly Tzschirner's Briefe, &c. but brevity forbids. This last work upon the whole subject of these letters, is well worthy of being read. Some farther notice will be taken of R.'s Sermons in Part Second.]

of their defects or imperfections in this respect, or at least, of what I do not wish to have imitated before mixed assemblies or country churches. In the first place, I must confess in general terms, that I have never as yet, been able entirely to satisfy myself in regard to the elocution of my sermons. Indeed, I have never been able to devote so much time and labor to them, as is requisite to perfect diction. It is impossible for him, who under a pressure of business and amidst unavoidable disturbances, is obliged to preach once every week, and occasionally, oftener, to produce any thing very excellent in its kind. Under such circumstances, one cannot find time for the *multa litura* in which alone excellence can originate, there often being scarcely enough left for writing down what a man wishes to say upon paper.* Hence, whenever I read my sermons with critical accuracy, in the style and dress, I every where discover imperfections and defects which might have been avoided, had I possessed more time, or been able to work them over and improve them. Did these imperfections consist merely in my occasionally commencing a sermon with two or three short syllables, as has justly been objected to them by Gräfe,† I should comfort myself with the reflection, that such a master as Cicero commenced a powerful oration with *venio*.‡ The defects of which I

* [What then must be said of writing three sermons a week, under a pressure of other parochial duties? Where is there any time left for thought, rhetorical preparation, and holy communion with God? Besides, is it not as well to *preach* extempore, as to read a sermon *written* extempore? To come at the point at once? Should not the grand object of an education be, to enable a man to pour forth the rich treasures of his own mind into the minds of others, without being subjected to the slavish necessity of writing them down in the first place? True, it is an object of great elevation and difficult attainment. Nothing but deep practical thinking, close attention to philosophy, intimate acquaintance with the human heart, susceptibility of emotion, and a thorough knowledge of language, will enable one to reach it; but does not the cause of truth require every student for the ministry to make the effort? Once attained, what power would it put into his hands? All the time now devoted to the mechanical process of writing, might then be devoted to energetic thinking; and looks, actions, tones of voice, nay, eloquence herself, be brought to the minister's aid. Then, we might expect him to catch the inspiration of the revivals which now light up the church and begin to roll their influence over the world, and hear him speak in the pulpit, not like a timid child, afraid of offending his audience, with his head pouring over his notes, but like an ambassador of God, full of awful solemnity, with a message fresh from the portals of heaven.]

† See his Anweisung zum Rhytmus in homiletischer und liturgischer Hinsicht, S. 118.

‡ Compare Accusationis in C. Verrem, lib. IV.

speak are of a far higher character. They may be stated in general terms, as follows: The expression is not always as excellent, definite and intelligible, as it ought to be, is not rich enough, and does not contain sufficient variety, Sometimes it is too brief and not sufficiently clear; at others, it is too verbose, and contains something that is superfluous. It is often destitute of that easy movement, that ready flow, in which every thing seems to spring naturally forth of itself. Sometimes the ear is offended by a disagreeable location of the words; at others, it is displeased, or filled with one that is defective. And finally, the transition from one part to another, is not always sufficiently easy and natural, too often recurs, and exhibits too great an appearance of uniformity. Permit me, my dear friend, to make a few definite remarks respecting these several points of complaint, without pretending to follow the order in which they have been named. That the diction of my sermons does not always possess that clearness and simplicity which it ought to; that I have made use of a multitude of words and phrases which can be understood only by those who are acquainted with our book language, or at least, by those who have had some degree of scientific education, I willingly admit. I will go so far as to confess, that in view of my relations, and the churches before which I had to preach, I considered myself not only authorized, but in a manner obliged, to make use of this style and language.

At Wittemberg, I preached in the University Church, and most of my common hearers were learned men and students. In addressing this audience, of course, I could make use of many representations, expressions and figures of speech, which would have been altogether improper before any other; and being in the habit of using scientific expressions during the whole week, it was natural for me to introduce them into the discourses I wrote for the Sabbath. In Dresden, I was placed over a church, which was either composed of well educated men, or such as were acquainted with our best writers; and hence, in addressing it, I was at liberty to make use of the book language, and a style, altogether above the comprehension of common peo-

ple. Indeed, I was obliged to do so, or create displeasure or offence.

I hope, however, that no one will think of writing and speaking as I did, who has to address a very mixed assembly, or merely country people. I am altogether opposed, indeed, to that false clearness and simplicity, in which a man speaks to grown persons as children, and degenerates into what is flat and vulgar. The preacher should not lower himself down to the vulgar capacities of the populace, but he should elevate his hearers to himself; and hence, at all times avail himself of a serious, dignified, and select diction. In so doing, however, he must avoid those turns and expressions with which ignorant or poorly educated people can connect no ideas, or only wrong ones, and make use of those which are well known, or exactly describe the thing intended. An example will best illustrate what I mean.

The thirtieth Sermon of 1799, treats of the theme: *How Christians should regard their location in time.* In this case the subject is not expressed in language sufficiently clear. A common person will not know what to make of the clause, *his location in time.* For such an one, the theme should have been thus expressed: *How Christians should regard the time in which God permits them to live.* In my examination and illustration of this theme, I have used a multitude of turns and expressions which can be understood only by well educated people. For instance, in the introduction, I have personified time, and called upon her children for that help, which, in common language, should be sought for, from, and ascribed to, God; and used the phrases: *Periode der vergangenheit—unter den Bedingungen der Zeit stehen—die Zeit nimmt uns nicht wieder auf, wenn wir uns ihr einmal entzogen haben—schwärmerische Seher—ihre Periode soll vorüber seyn, u. s. w.*, which are altogether above common intellects; and the body of the sermon is full of instances of this kind, and if any one wishes to find a passage in which they are heaped together in great abundance, he may consult the first sub-division of the third part, commencing; *Verblendung nenne ich den Stolz*, and ending; *dieser Stolz ist wahre Verblendung.* The subjects of this sub-division, are sufficiently intelligible for any coun-

try village; but they are treated of in such language, that I have no idea they would be understood, if declaimed to such a village by a rapid speaker. In short, should I accurately examine this sermon, I should find a multitude of words, like strange coin, altogether unknown to the common people, having never been in circulation among them. I have said enough, however, to show, that, as I did not write for a country congregation, my sermons are not intelligible to all, and hence, are by no means to be imitated by those who preach to country people.*

And here I must make some remarks respecting a difference as I think, to be noted, between ancient and modern eloquence. The ancient orator, strictly speaking, never addressed a mixed assembly. His hearers had an equal degree of education, as regarded the main subject, and were alike acquainted with and interested in, the point in question, respecting which, as it was a matter purely of common life, they believed themselves equally competent to decide. He was not merely at liberty, therefore, but he was obliged, to use those expressions only, which were generally known and commonly employed; and the amount of words in circulation were amply sufficient to enable him to say whatever he wished. Had he used poetical forms or philosophical expressions, he would have been ridiculed, as he would have departed from the practices of common life without any just occasion whatever.† With the modern orator, and especially the preacher, every thing is different. The art of printing, by the facility with which it spreads all kinds of writings abroad, has in modern times formed a reading public as it is called, of which the ancients were totally ignorant. When writers sought to impart every thing to this public which could be interesting to man, and began even to reduce the abstract sciences to a popular form, they were obliged to form a language altogether peculiar, and entirely different from that used by the mere speaking and talking public,

* The Remarks of Greiling, Von der höhern und niedern Popularität, in the work already quoted: Theorie der Popularität, § 51. S. 97 ff. are well worth attention.

† Hence, the reason why Cicero made so many apologies whenever he wished to use philosophical and scientific expressions. See Pro Archia Poeta, c. 2; also the conclusion of this Oration, and Pro Murena, c. 29.

and which, as it is to be met with only in books, may with propriety be called the *book language*. Hence, originated necessities which threw the modern orator, and especially the preacher, into an embarrassment, of which the ancient orators knew nothing.* If, for instance, the preacher makes use altogether of those expressions which are universally known and employed in common life, he offends what is called the reading public,—a class of people accustomed to a language of a higher cast, which they have acquired, if in no other way, by reading novels and romances, and who of course look upon the preacher's language, as too vulgar,—and hence, cannot endure it. If, on the other hand, the preacher uses the book language or mingles it with the other, he renders himself unintelligible to those who do not read, and addresses himself to them in words and phrases in which they cannot think. Such being the embarrassing and conflicting wants and demands of the modern world, it is almost impossible for a man to do justice to every individual of a very mixed audience, composed of the learned and the unlearned. At least, I am certain that I should not succeed in attempting to pursue a middle course, which, while it pleased the educated, should be intelligible to the uneducated. Hence, I have ever considered it as a cause of great congratulation, that my public audiences have always been of a uniform character and well acquainted with the book language. This fact has justified me in writing, nay, obliged me to write, as I have done, whereas, if I had been a country minister, or obliged to preach to mixed assemblies, I should have proceeded in a manner entirely different, and endeavored to use the language between those two extremes, of which I have already spoken. With these remarks before them, intelligent hearers will not find it difficult to ascertain, what parts of my sermons are not written in a sufficiently popular style, and hence, what parts and phrases they should by no means think of imitating.

One of the great faults of my sermons, is, a too frequent use of certain figures of speech, especially the interrogation,

*Chrysostom, however, early began to complain of something of the same kind. De Sacerdot. l. V. c. 1. seqq.

It does indeed give a discourse more vivacity and impression, to transform those positions which the preacher deems of especial importance to the hearers, into questions, addressed immediately to the decision as it were, of their judgments. But I cannot deny, that I have sometimes introduced this mode of speech where it was inappropriate, and every thing would have been better, categorically expressed. Besides, the too frequent use of this figure creates a uniformity which is disagreeable. Indeed, a man who makes a too frequent use of the interrogation, will fail of accomplishing his object. The very fact, that it is often introduced and rendered as it were common, will deprive it of all effect. That it increases the difficulty of uttering a discourse and occasions a greater exertion of the lungs, I will not even mention. Here and there I have also too frequently introduced the exclamation. I believe, however, that I have made a bad use of this figure, less frequently than of the other.

The art of making the transitions from one division or sub-division to another in a natural and easy manner, has something in it altogether peculiar. These transitions may be compared to the joints of a body. Without joints the body would be stiff and helpless, and without those of sufficient pliability, be racked with every movement. That I have taken great pains to connect the parts of my sermons together in a natural and easy manner, is a thing of which I am perfectly conscious. I have never succeeded, however, in doing justice to myself in this respect. On the other hand, the transitions of many of my sermons, are not only sometimes unnatural and constrained, but often too uniform. The former appears to me to be frequently the case with the connexions of the grand divisions. With all my efforts so to add the main parts to each other, that they should seem to rise of their own accord, I have often come far short of success. I hope, therefore, that none who read my sermons will take them as correct guides in this respect, but aim at a far higher degree of perfection. The other fault, or too great uniformity in the transitions, is particularly conspicuous in the sub-divisions. Often, indeed, these transitions are quite easy and natural, especially when the words with which

a division closes, remind the reader of, and prepare him for, the succeeding one;* when the grand division is of such a character, that one part follows from another; and finally, when there is a gradation in the parts. If, however, any person reads a number of my sermons in succession, he will find these easy and natural transitions frequently returning, and too little diversified. This is a subject, also, upon which those must reflect, who wish to render their discourses highly perfect.

In discourses which are accurately arranged and divided into the parts which are to be closely remarked upon and impressed upon the memory, nothing is more natural, than that one should frequently avail himself of that kind of transition which the ancient rhetoricians called *complexion*. This mode of concluding a point is extremely appropriate, because it repeats the explained and proved series of thought, ordinarily in the very same expressions in which it was originally stated, and again as it were, recommends it to the memory. From the whole construction of my sermons, every thing they contained, being divided into parts as the principal subjects of remarks and reflections, I was almost necessarily inclined, to make a frequent use of the *complexion;* in part, for the perfection of every division; and in part, for the sake of an easy transition from one subject to another, making the progression of the whole treatise the more obvious, and rendering it easy for the hearer to draw the conclusion. Even in this respect, however, I have not always observed due moderation. I have often used the *complexion* with too great uniformity, even where it might have been omitted, without doing any prejudice to the discourse; and I might, and for the sake of variety, should, have selected a more appropriate mode of connexion and transition. Here then is another imperfection which every one should seek to avoid, in working out his discourses.

I have always had considerable difficulty in making a proper use of pronouns. Indeed, I have taken great pains so to use them, that all ambiguity by the reference of them

* Upon this subject consult Wächter's masterly but too laudatory analysis of one of my sermons, in the second volume of the Allgem. praktisch. Bibliothek für Prediger und Schulmänner. S. 165 f.

to a wrong antecedent should be impossible, and yet have often failed in the attempt. In reading my sermons, I constantly stumble upon passages extremely defective in this respect. A passage commencing, *Gott hat unsern Geist, &c.*, Sermon 24th of 1799, p. 404, is a notable instance; for, in the course of a few sentences, there is a perfect obscurity, the pronouns being equally referrible to *Gott*, *Geist*, or *Körper*. The sentence commencing, *Himmlische, von Gott*, and ending *der Juden geworden*, in the first remarks of the Reformation Sermon of 1796, is a similar instance; the nouns, *Religion* and *Warheit* together with the pronouns and adjectives referring to them, being completely blended together, so that the antecedents to which they respectively refer, cannot be distinguished. That it is difficult to avoid all obscurity of this kind, I am ready to acknowledge. It can often be done only by completely changing the train of thought, and casting it into another form.* True, the reference of these ambiguous pronouns can generally be ascertained from the connexion of the sentence and the nature of the subject. It should be recollected, however, that, in listening to a speaker, the hearer has no time to compare the context, or pry into the nature of the subject, but he is under the necessity of listening to what continues to be said, and passing by what he does not apprehend upon the spot. I must maintain, therefore, that every writer who wishes to become master of a good style, must be as careful as possible to avoid all such imperfections.

I might bring forward a multitude of examples to show you, that the expressions of my sermons are not always as definite and excellent, nor as easy, as they ought to be; and that they might often have been rendered more agreeable and harmonious. I should weary your patience, however, my dear friend, as well as that of my readers, if I should do so. If you wish to see a very imperfect passage, you may consult the first sub-division of the first part of the

* [We have the same difficulty to contend with in the English language, as every writer knows from experience; but it is greatly diminished by our philosophical use of nouns in regard to gender, and the power we have of frequently conferring upon neutral objects an artificial gender, or, in other words, of availing ourselves of the aid of personification; so that, in many cases, our language has all the advantages of the German in this respect, without being embarrassed with its disadvantages.]

above quoted Reformation Sermon.* I flatter myself, indeed, with the hope, that there are few more so. At least, I have not stumbled upon many as imperfect, myself. I must acknowledge, however, that I never sit down to read any of my sermons with a critical eye, without finding single expressions, turns, and even whole periods, which might have been written far better, as you will readily believe. Indeed, I never arise from such a reading, with any real satisfaction, but generally with pain, on reflecting, that, with all my labor and diligence, I have come far short of satisfactorily and truly representing what my mind had conceived, as my own feelings required it should be; and even now, with all my experience, I come far short of the standard of excellence to which I wish to attain.

The venerable Blessig who has sought in so kind and honorable a manner to introduce me to the French public, has expressed a wish, that, out of my numerous sermons, a selection of a few volumes of the best, might be made and published, as a kind of legacy to posterity.† I doubt, my friend, very much, whether posterity will care any thing about such a legacy. And then, who is to make the selection? and, if it were made, as it would contain nothing new, who would print it? Farewell.

* [The author enters into a criticism of this passage, which occupies about six pages, which, together with several other criticisms, is, for obvious reasons, omitted, though a reference is made to every passage.]

† See a notice appended to the French translation of my Reformation Sermon of 1807, published at Strasburg, p. 47.

MEMOIRS,* &c.

PART II.

I. Last Sickness and Death.

The preceding letters or confessions, in which Reinhard gives an account of his education for the sacred office, with various other particulars, were first published at Sulzbach, in 1810. On the 6th of Sept. 1812, at about three o'clock in the morning, this truly venerable man expired. That quick and painless exit which the wise so eagerly covet, and, as the king of terrors cannot overtake them unawares, deem one of the best favors of heaven, that easy transition of the soul from earth to the hands of its Creator, with which his dearly beloved Heyne† was so richly blessed, did not fall to his lot. His passage to the tomb was long and dreary, and marked with disease and pain; and death, when it came, seemed rather to deliver him from his bodily anguish, than to put an end to his existence. That blending together of the images of life and death, however, which every where crowd themselves upon us, of which he himself has spoken so in-

* The following particulars respecting Reinhard's life, writings, &c., are drawn chiefly from Döderlein's Delineation of his Character, Zeichnung von Reinhard, Dresden, 1813, but are interwoven with various remarks drawn from other sources.

† Probably, Christian Gottlob Heyne, a celebrated philologist, teacher, and general scholar, a native of Chemnitz, and Professor of Eloquence at Göttingen, where he died of a fit of apoplexy, July the 14th, 1812.

structively in one of his sermons,* produced no other effect upon him than to render him anxious to distinguish every moment of suffering by doing something useful; nor was he, as has been publicly asserted, daily and painfully engaged in earnest importunities to God for the salvation of his soul, until nature herself became exhausted. To labor in the extensive sphere of usefulness allotted to him, and fulfil the duties of his high calling, constituted his support, his oil in the lamp of life, and bread of heaven in the desert. To this effect he often expressed himself to those around him. 'I will willingly bear every variety of pain and bodily suffering,' said he, 'if, in the mean time, I may only be permitted to mount the pulpit and preach as I have hitherto done.'

In general, this Christian sage exhibited no inclination to die magnanimously, as it is common for thousands to do, nor, though he believed far more extensive and consoling views burst upon the departed Christian,† did he say any thing of the soul's being released from her prison house, the body; and it was only when he considered his usefulness at an end, that he looked upon death as desirable. At length the messenger of peace made his appearance, and kindly beckoned him away. After his departure, a heavenly smile stood upon his lips, then, for the first time, silent, which erased from his emaciated countenance almost every appearance of disease and pain, and overspread it with that heavenly serenity which had always pervaded his breast.

Having, in 1803, while on an official journey through Erzgebirg, fallen from his horse, and broken one of his legs, he was confined by the accident to the house of the Superintendent in Chemnitz,‡ for nearly three months, and so intimidated, that, notwithstanding the earnest importunities of his friends, he would never afterwards venture to mount a saddle; the consequence of which was, his deprivation of suitable exercise, and the aggravation of various diseases to which he had for some time been subjected. In 1811, an obstinate hemor-

* Predigten, 1804, Th. II. S. 104 ff.

† See Reinhard's Ch. Moral, Th. V. S. 183 f.

‡ See the Sermons of 1804, Pred. I. S. 2 ff.

rhoidal complaint had so far got the upper hand of him, as to induce him to form the hazardous resolution of submitting to a painful and dangerous chirurgical operation, in which he shared not only the well-known skill, but the sympathy and constant attention of Hedenus, the royal surgeon. Every thing at first seemed to promise the happiest success, but soon the operation was found, instead of eradicating the disease, to have driven it to more vital parts. In the midst of the most excruciating pain, however, he not only performed all the duties of his office, but continued to preach almost every Sunday, without intermission, until the end of the winter of 1812, when the gout attacked one of his feet, and disqualified him for all public duties. He never ascended the pulpit after the fast on the 28th of February; though, considering preaching as he did, the very soul of Protestantism, and the business to which every thing else should be made subordinate, it filled him with inexpressible sorrow. He did not remain inactive, however, for while he was afflicted with his lame foot, he examined candidates for the ministry for fourteen days in succession, beginning immediately after Easter. This was the last time he performed this service; and long will the youth of Saxony who were present, with pleasure call to mind the exercises by which he consecrated them to the ministry, while he sought to enkindle in their hearts the flame of devotion, and fill them with those doctrines by which the two worlds are connected together, listened to and criticised, though not with great efforts, their first attempts at sermonizing, and attended again, though not without painful suffering, every session of the ecclesiastical council and chief consistory.*

Not having visited the Upper Palatinate since 1804, he felt anxious to see his beloved native country once more, before he died. With the hope therefore of reducing the complicated diseases which preyed upon him,† and strengthening himself for the journey, he commenced the

* The reader will find much information respecting various customs referred to in this work, in the several articles upon Germany published in the first volume of the Bibl. Repos.

† Among other disorders, he had long been troubled with a complaint of the bladder.

use of ass's milk, it having been found very salutary in chronic complaints. To avail himself of this kind of diet without disturbance, he retired to Tharant, where he spent five weeks. This is one of the most pleasant bathing places in the region of Dresden. At that time, however, it presented him with a double attraction, from the fact, that it daily enjoyed the refreshing visits of his much esteemed physician and friend, Dr. Kapp, a man, distinguished alike for his scientific knowledge, experience, and practical skill, surrounded by his grand children, and like Lucian's Demonax, passing from house to house, welcomed wherever he went. The company and conversation of this engaging man, furnished Reinhard with an agreeable compensation for his constrained inactivity, which, of all the afflictions God had laid upon him, he found the most painful to bear. The summer, however, proved rainy and unpleasant, and did not permit Reinhard often to avail himself of the bath. The only effect of his dieting, was to drive his complaint to his lungs, which had hitherto remained unaffected. A consumptive cough succeeded, which deprived him of all sound repose, or if he ever slept quietly, seemed to render it the means of aggravating all the symptoms of his complaint. His body gradually consumed away, and finally began to break down altogether. The oldest and most experienced physicians of Dresden, connected with him by the tenderest ties of friendship, among whom that excellent old man, Dr. Pezold then in his fiftieth year, the royal physician and aulic councillor Kreisig, and the surgeon Hedenus, should be particularly mentioned, having all been consulted, had exhausted their utmost efforts to procure him relief. Reinhard attended to the various prescriptions, which, from time to time, after much reflection they prepared for him, merely from a sense of duty, and not from a conviction that they were able to do him any good.

With that sure prophetical presentiment which some politicians possess, he always evinced, and death often seems only to quicken, he calculated for his approaching end. With deep interest he thought of his ordinary course of life, his domestic circle, and the scene of his labors, and, leaving his retirement, hastened to his garden seat, in

one of the nearest suburbs of Dresden. Here, among his favorite plants, in the open air, he derived some pleasure from warming himself in the rays of the sun, whenever it shone forth mild and pleasant; and as it fatigued him too much to walk, he refreshed himself about noon by resorting to his green house, which was surrounded with herbs and flowers. On such occasions, his friends, seeing the vivacity with which he took part in discussions of a public or private nature, often felt themselves animated with new hopes of his recovery. It was natural that they should hope for the best, but he always refused to assent to their opinion, and replied by shaking his head and appealing to appearances.

But however great the exhaustion of the sufferer might be, accustomed as he always had been, to struggle for the victory over himself, he did not willingly give himself up to it or long remain inactive, though it was only at broken intervals that the mind was able to obtain the victory over the body. He still continued to rise early in the morning, though an hour later than formerly, as it was not until towards morning that he could obtain sound repose,—dressed himself, and immediately resorted to his delightful tasks. It was not until the last fortnight of his life, that he would so far yield to the importunities of the friends around him, as to continue sitting in an easy posture in his night dress, on the sofa. To lie on the bed in the day time, was a thing to which he refused to assent, to the very last; so great was the control of his mind over a body which had almost refused to serve. On the meeting of the diet in 1811, the magnanimous classes of the kingdom had granted an extraordinary contribution for the institution at St. Afra. A new building had been commenced in that place, and a plan of instruction drawn up, to the perfection of which Reinhard was desired to contribute by his remarks, which he accordingly did, notwithstanding his weakness, and aided in various other ways, in which he proved to this *alma mater* of a Gellert and Lessing, what he had previously, to that at Pforte, a paternal counseller and friend.* But a few days before his death, he drew

* The building was consecrated on the 17th of Nov. and devoted to the solemnization of Reinhard's death on the 17th of Dec. 1812.

up in his own hand writing, a prayer to be read in the evangelical Court Church on the day of the consecration of this building, which was fixed for the 13th of September. In this and similar ways, he passed the time of his sickness, always contending with his complaint and endeavoring to get the victory over himself. Only two days before his death, he wrote a letter to a friend at Wittemberg, and corrected a proof sheet to the fifth part of his *Moral*. One of the last works he read through with attention, of which also he expressed his approbation, was *Heeren's Ideen*. At this time also he was constantly engaged in giving assistance and advice, either orally or in writing, to persons around him and at a distance, while to the close of life, he continued to take a lively interest in passing circumstances and events, which like his friend John Müller* he always believed to be under the divine control, in which respect he firmly adhered to those views and feelings expressed in his 17th sermon of 1811, *Upon the Government of God over the world*, addressed to those Christians who entertained doubts on this point.

Amidst the pain and weakness of body, however, to which, notwithstanding the strength of his mind, he was subjected during the last days of his life, he had notice of several events calculated to fill him with joy. From one of his relatives who had published his Sermons, Theology, and Confessions, who belonged to one of the most respectable booksellers in Germany, and had come all the way from Sulzbach to Dresden, for the sole purpose of once more seeing his benefactor and friend, he received information, that a work which had been sent to him during his sickness in 1811, and to which he wrote a short but powerful preface, had gone through two editions the very first year of its publication, and been the means of scattering many of the imperishable seeds of truth.† The most joyful news that he heard, however, was, that the king had

* See Joh. v. Müller's Werke, VIII, 236, 260, 263; Briefe an seinen ältesten Freund in der Schweiz, (Zürch, Fuessly, 1812,) S 269.

† Pyrrho und Philalethes, Sulzbach, Seidel, 1812. It was written by the venerable Crell, Councillor of the Mines, in Gött &c., at the close of his distinguished career, and exhibits his views of the truth, which, in respect to *physicotheology* and teleological proof, correspond with those of Reinhard, Moral, IV. 491, V. 163. It was published at first without his name.

approved of the plan of a university at Leipsic which had been drawn up by a double number of royal commissioners who had been appointed for this purpose, to whom Reinhard belonged, and thus crowned a work for which he had ardently labored. Of the success of his labors, however, he was never inclined to say much, nor did he seem to derive pleasure from looking at the past. He felt as though it was unbecoming a sower, to feel proud of his harvest, however great it might be, since God had brought it forth by means of rain and sunshine, from the germ which he himself had created. To wish like a hero, to enjoy the good of a work at the evening of life, he considered as bordering upon foolishness. Others might warm their hearts in this way, and delight themselves with such considerations, but he could not. The greatest and happiest efforts he made, fell far short of what he endeavored and felt himself obligated to perform, even in writing his sermons; and hence, he was often filled with the most unfeigned astonishment at the frequent and flattering proofs which he received from the remotest parts, of the good he had been the means of effecting.

Very touching and interesting were the remarks which he made, from time to time, to his friends, when they indulged themselves in expressing their good wishes, and sought to show, that his immediate usefulness could not then be about to close. They strikingly exhibited his humility, and entire dissatisfaction with himself, notwithstanding the internal purity of his moral character, the motives by which he had ever been actuated, and the strenuous efforts he had made to accomplish all the good in his power. "God is confined to no particular instrument," was his reply. "If he does not choose to employ me, he is able to find another. He is too perfect in wisdom, to suffer his plans and operations to depend upon imperfection."

For some days his hiccough had been increasing upon him, and gradually diminishing his strength, but yet he did not suppose his dissolution to be so near as it was. On the afternoon preceding his death, in compliance with the wishes of his wife, he was removed from his garden seat, to his official residence in the city. On this occasion he left all his papers behind him, except the manuscript to the

fifth part of his Moral, and, when carried by the evangelical Court Church in which, for the last 21 years, his beloved and affectionate people, under the influence of his preaching, had assembled in harmonious and heart-felt union, heard its well known clock strike for the last time. In the evening, he made no change from the usual course of his life, or the order of the day. He read with an unbroken voice, from the second part of Lichtenstein's travels, and retired to bed at his usual hour. His rest was quiet, except that he once awoke, until after midnight, when he found himself unable to rise. "Farewell," said he, immediately, "farewell to you all." These were his last words, which he repeated several times, and, in a few moments, expired. They were heard from the Aar to the Dwina, and listened to with deep and heart-felt emotion by the absent, and often will they be repeated with grateful recollections by the churches which he educated and established in the truth, and his brethren in the ministry, whom he tenderly loved, always bore on his heart before the throne of grace, and prayed for aloud every evening, until God successively calls them to take their silent repose.

As may be supposed by any one who has read the 9th letter of his Confessions, he adhered to the doctrine of free grace, through the atoning blood of Christ, and, however foolish it may appear to the Rationalist, or be made a subject of controversy, derived his chief support from it in the hour of death; and though some may shrug up their shoulders, on reading this, and affect to drop a tear of compassion over him, and others attempt to ridicule him, and pronounce him a hypocrite, as they did when his Reformation Sermon made its appearance. breathed forth his departing spirit into the hands of his Redeemer.* His death adds another testimony, if another were needed, to the reality of the consolation to be derived, in exchanging worlds, from a hope of free pardon through Christ. No sparks of enthusiasm or flights of a diseased imagination kindled up false fires in his breast, or illuded the eye of reason, nor was his mind obscured with the darkness of ignorance. The flame of devotion glowed steadily within,

* Many incorrect accounts have been published respecting Reinhard's death. The above was drawn from the testimony of his widow.

and reason kept watch at her post. With an enlightened eye, he gazed into the opening gulf before him, without trembling or dismay, and, having labored on its brink until his summons arrived, he calmly leaped into it, and was seen no more. How different this, from the blind-folded exit of the scoffing sinner! We cannot dwell, however, upon the death of this good man, but must ask the reader's pardon for hurrying him back to take a more particular survey of his life, writings, and character.

II. His Youth and Education.

Of the youth of Reinhard, it will be unnecessary to add much to what he has already told us. He was born at Vohenstrauss, in the Dukedom of Sulzbach, March the 12th, 1753. He early evinced an ardent thirst for knowledge, an insatiable desire to improve himself, and seemed to derive his greatest pleasure from mental occupations. While the other children were spending their time in various sports and plays, the little Francis, eager to learn, was seen, especially in the evening, bending over his book or his writing table, engaged in reading, or in composing short fables, hymns, and essays, some of which, the remainder of his relatives, in the Upper Palatinate, may still possess. In these youthful productions, we are told, he evinced vivacity, and a stirring and active imagination, which, though laid under powerful restraints by the serious and laborious nature of his employments in after life, could never be entirely subdued.* Until 15 years of age, he found an excellent and faithful teacher in his father, a pious and worthy clergyman of the place where he was born, by whom he was early made thoroughly acquainted with the ancient classics, especially Virgil and Cicero, and thus enabled to lay that foundation, upon which alone, in modern times, the fame of authorship, a few choice and

* Though Reinhard frequently disclaimed all pretensions to the poetic art, and wished, in his works, to be considered merely as a plain writer of prose, it was from his utter opposition to every thing like prose run mad, a kind of style quite popular with some preachers, but against which he used to express himself in Socratic irony. He early wrote some metrical translations of the Greek Anthology, by way of amusement, which were published in the M. V. Merkur. That he had a very susceptible imagination when a lad, is evident from what he himself says, Opusc. Acad. II. 273.

original works of the imagination excepted, has always been raised. Reinhard's father presents us with a worthy example in this respect, for he delighted in teaching his children and devoted all his leisure to this business. He seems to have felt a great attachment for Francis, and to have cherished fond hopes of *being able to make something out of him*, as he used often to express himself; and having but little relaxation from the duties of his profession, in 1768 he made arrangements for sending him to the *Gymnasium Poeticum*, at Regensburg, where he himself had been educated, soon after which, he expired.

Reinhard speaks of his residence at this place, which commenced in the autumn of the above-named year, with considerable particularity. He appears to have devoted the most of his time to the study of the classics. While here, he derived much benefit from Mr. Augustus Töpfer, the *conrector*, into whose class he first entered, and whom he mentions in very grateful terms. This man never came forward as an author, but he attended most conscientiously to his business as instructor, and, by endeavoring to raise those pupils worthy of it, above the common level, attached them firmly to himself, thus exhibiting his own talents and integrity as a teacher; for nothing distinguishes the miserable hireling from the faithful instructor more readily, than that the former planes all wood equally bad, while the latter cuts a Mercury only out of the best. By pursuing such a course and bringing forward the powers of this one youth, (whom afterwards when ascending to the highest dignity, he had the exalted satisfaction of pressing to his heart,) and thus qualifying him for usefulness, Töpfer did more good to the world than he would have done by publishing a hundred *programs* and other such things. To this man, Reinhard was in a great measure indebted for the attachment he felt for Cicero during life, that fulness of thought for which he is so conspicuous, and the chasteness and skill he acquired in writing the Latin language, being scarcely equalled in this respect by any two theologians among all his contemporaries in Germany.*

* This is perfectly evident from his *university programs*, by the collecting together and publishing of which, Pölitz has done great service to the public, as it was a work which Reinhard would never have undertaken himself, though he has since made some rich additions to these *programs*.

Reinhard seems also to have derived considerable benefit from Martini, at that time rector, with whom he became acquainted at a later period. He speaks of him with gratitude, and says he delivered some rich lectures on the Socratic mode of instruction, which proved of great value.*

He seems to have derived but little benefit from his other teachers. Their lectures were long and tedious, and came far short of satisfying the active mind of this youth, and hence, he spent the most part of his four years and a half at this place, in unwearied attention to his own studies. In the mean time, however, he found patrons and patronesses, in some of the first families in Regensburg, which was then very flourishing, whose assistance, together with what he received from some near relatives at home, poor as he was, supplied his wants, and prevented the necessity of his wasting the precious days of seed-time, in teaching others for the purpose of obtaining money; for though he sometimes gave private instruction, he did it gratis, and for his own improvement.†

Having become an able *gymnasiast* and *auditor*, in 1773, Reinhard left Regensburg, and entered the university at Wittemberg. Both Erlangen and Altorf were nearer, and each of them, at that time, presented some peculiar facilities and conveniences for a residence. Professor Grimm, however, one of Reinhard's teachers, and a zealous defender of the Crusian philosophy, then in high repute, particularly in the South of Germany, having conceived a high regard for him, gave him a most flattering recommendation to Mirus, the Electoral Saxon Secretary of Legation. This man's sons, one of whom still lives in Regensburg, had been Reinhard's school-fellows. He was likewise zealously attached to the Crusian philosophy, and felt anxious to have a youth of such splendid talents, enlist under the same banners to which he himself had sworn allegiance. Accordingly, Mirus, who had studied theology, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with all its sciences, drew up a plan, agreeably to which Reinhard was to commence his studies at Wittemberg, the cheapest place, under the direction of Dr. Schmid, who was Cru-

* Opusc. Acad. I. 109.

† With the preceding, compare Tzschirner, Briefe, u. s. w. I, II.

sius' nephew, and thoroughly acquainted with his theological and philosophical views, and complete them at Leipsic, at the feet of the master himself, to whom Reinhard was early introduced, while on a journey through Leipsic, by a letter from Mirus, and from whom, he, at the same time, received paternal counsel and advice. The new and interesting acquaintances, however, which Reinhard had formed, during his first year's residence at Wittemberg, together with the death of Crusius in 1775, prevented him from carrying the second part of tl is plan into execution. He, nevertheless, remained firmly attached to the Crusian philosophy, at least, during the two first years of his academical career,—a thing, which was the natural result of the relations he sustained to Dr. Schmid, and the respect he had for his profound learning.

Of Reinhard's first and successful attempt at preaching in Dietrichsdorf, his attention to the oriental languages, under Dr. Dresde, and his efforts to supply other deficiencies in his education, while a student at the university, he has given us sufficient information, in his 5th and 6th letters. The only circumstance, which, perhaps, deserves to be particularly mentioned, is, that he had the happiness of attending Schröckh's lectures upon church history, in a private course of instruction; as they exerted a powerful influence upon him.* To them, indeed, and the almost daily intercourse he had with this thoroughly learned and ingenious man, after he became a teacher in the university, he attributed the freedom of thought which he afterwards acquired, and the disinclination he felt to being confined to any particular school. It was through the influence of this man, in particular, that Reinhard was induced, at the close of his preparatory studies, to turn his attention to the business of instruction. He became thoroughly attached to him for the remainder of his life, and afterwards went twice from Dresden to the delightful neighborhood of Wittemberg, on purpose to see him.†

* See Tzschirner, Ueber Schröckh's Leben und Schriften, S. XLI.

† Respecting Schröckh's aversion to the Crusian philosophy, see Nitzsch, Ueber Schröckh's Studienwesen und Maximen, S. 24. After Reinhard and Schröckh became colleagues, they, almost daily, had mutual intercourse with each other, respecting every new phenomenon in the literary and political world, generally in short notes, full of Attic salt, written from their studies.

III. Reinhard as a Teacher.

In the year 1777, by means of an essay for trial, respecting the use of the Septuagint, in criticising the Hebrew text, Reinhard obtained liberty to teach in the university at Wittemberg.* His education could hardly have been better than it was, to qualify him for this business. In addition to this, Reinhard was born a teacher, and never felt happier, than when surrounded with his pupils, and giving them instruction. He then considered himself as enjoying life in the highest degree.† The period which he spent in this employment at the university, he afterwards considered as the brightest spot in his recollections. No wonder, then, that he grew with rapidity, and, in a short time, became philosophical and theological professor. The applause given to his lectures increased from one half year to another, and was grounded upon the unbribed feelings of his pupils. It was also well earned, for the discourses he delivered, which were not drawn from old, musty books, were full of rich thought, and always worked over anew every time they were delivered. That a man who received such distinguished approbation should meet with some opposition, was to be expected. It is an unquestionable fact, however, that his discourses produced powerful effects upon the youthful mind. Always engaged in investigating the subjects upon which he lectured, and conscientiously endeavoring to present his hearers with the newest and the best, and truths to which he had been led by the most strenuous efforts of which he was capable, it was natural that his lectures should be thronged, and should exert a great influence. The names of many are now mentioned with esteem in Germany, both as theological and philosophical writers, who received the finishing part of their education under Reinhard. Some of them

Schröckh never failed to be present when Reinhard preached, but used to come slyly and cordially to meet me in my little chamber, as the latter often related, in after years; for they agreed in their views of revelation and the doctrines of the Bible. See Nitzsch S. 27 ff. Tzschirner, XLI—XLV. The meeting of these men took place, by agreement, at Wörlitz, in the years 1795 and 1798.

* See the Opusc. Academica.

† According to Martial, VI. 70, Non est viuere, sed *docere* vita.

ought to give us a history of their conversion, for it was not seldom, in this respect, that a Polemon came to a Xenocrates. The time which Reinhard spent in the business of teaching at Wittemberg, may be divided into two periods: The first extending from 1778 to 1784, when he was engaged in philosophy and theology; the second, from 1784 to 1792, when he was engaged in theology and homiletics, and, as provost, together with his theological colleagues, was obliged, according to rule, to preach every Sunday and festival in the University Church.

Of the sacred attention he paid during this period of his life to all the duties of his office; the doubts and struggles through which he had to pass, before he could bring his mind to firm and satisfactory results in philosophy; and finally, of his conscientiousness as a theologian, to found every thing upon the Bible, the salutary influence of which he daily felt in his own heart, he has given us ample information in his Confessions.

When Reinhard commenced his career as a teacher in the university at Wittemberg, there were many very perceptible defects in the course of instruction there pursued. Hiller, from the school of the great Berger, in his prime justly and truly esteemed as a lecturer in philology and philosophy, had not in the former, as yet gone far beyond the *Racemationen Zum Tacitus*, nor in the latter, far beyond Wolf and Baumeister. Reinhard immediately set about remedying these defects, and his lectures in both departments, at once recommended themselves by their charming clearness and thorough and extensive investigations. Of the lectures which he delivered at a very early period, the philological upon some of Plato's dialogues, and the exegetical upon the Psalms, which he always translated into a rhythmical form, were looked upon by the unanimous consent of his hearers, as particularly distinguished.* The volumes which contain these lectures,

* Among Reinhard's posthumous papers, there is a finished manuscript upon Phaedon, Criton, and Plato's Republic, together with a multitude of philological remarks upon Horace, Tacitus, &c. extracted from his earlier lectures; also a complete commentary upon Genesis, upon Isaiah and the Psalms, all in the Latin language, and seemingly prepared for the press. Each Psalm is accompanied with an introduction, and translated, in an excellent rhythmical form, into the German language, the words having been selected with the greatest propriety and taste, and the whole work having been carefully revised. This revised translation was published in 1813, by Hacker, in the Jubilate-messe.

worked out into a very perfect state, are still to be found among Reinhard's literary remains. His lectures however upon particular branches of philosophy, which were divided into different courses, were attended by far the greatest number of hearers, and their results were soon made known in a variety of publications. In these lectures, he always professed to be an Eclectic. He was often urged to publish them, at least to the extent of a small manual, but as he was constantly adding to his information and changing them, he could not be persuaded to do so, with the exception of a few outlines for the accommodation of his pupils.* To each position he added the literature of it, in doing which he evinced deep learning and acute judgment. He was always most interesting when he treated of psychology.

Reinhard, in the progress of his investigations, passed from the strictest Crusian philosophy to that of Plato and the old academy, and thence, to that of Leibnitz and Wolf, between whose systems he remained for a long time in a state of pure skepticism. As he advanced, however, his views continually enlarged, until he became so intimate with critical philosophy, which then comprehended every thing, that, shortly before he went to Dresden, he wrote a lecture upon it, entitled: An examination of the peculiarities and most noted results of the Kantian philosophy, the entire manuscript of which is still in existence. In this examination, he seems to be a pure Kantian, treats this philosophy as his own, and does not allow himself to bring forward any objections to it. Indeed, he was at this time far less consistent in his views of this philosophy than afterwards, when he wrote the celebrated preface to the third edition of his *Moral* and had penetrated much farther into it. It is true, many of his hearers, particularly those from Reinhold's school in Jena, were dissatisfied with this lecture, but it answered the grand purpose for which he intended it, which was, to lead each one to investigate for himself. As no new phenomenon, either in

* These lectures together with some upon natural law perfectly finished, are also extant, partly in the Latin and partly in the German. The acute author of Aenesidemus, one of Reinhard's pupils, by his Grundriss der philosophischen Wissenschaften, Wittem. 1788—1790, has given us a very lucid account of his master's mode of philosophizing.

philosophy or theology, escaped him, and every position was submitted to the most rigid examination, he did not hesitate to publish the results to which he arrived, in the various productions of the day; and hence, he became by profession, a reviewer. The most serious* labor which he performed in this respect, was, to review one of Semler's works, which procured for him the respect of foreigners, and made him feel how much can sometimes be done by an impartial and well sustained criticism. About this time, the two Helmstadt scholars, Henke and Bruns, engaged in publishing a work, known by the name of *Helmstadt Annals*, which made its appearance monthly in the Latin language, and for the rich matter it contains, is still justly prized. It was set up in the place of the Ephemeris, a work on single sheets, and was sustained for five years, at the expense of the magnanimous Duke of Brunswick. Henke having called for assistance in the literary department, Reinhard enriched it with a series of the most thorough reviews, and continued to do so, until the year 1787, when the work itself was brought to a close. These reviews were confined almost exclusively to works upon speculative and practical philosophy, and seldom extended to those which lay within the limits of theology. Some of them are so thorough, extensive, and so far exhaust the subject, that they might pass for small treatises. All of them might as regards worth, have been collected together and printed as a separate volume of Reinhard's *Opuscula Academica*. Influenced by the part Reinhard took in the *Helmstadt Annals*, as well as by the celebrity of his writings and his talents for teaching, his fame in these respects having spread all over Germany, Mahner, the private counciller of Brunswick, recommended him to the duke as a suitable theologian for the Helmstadt academy. Accordingly, in the year 1790, he received a very unexpected call to Helmstadt, with a salary nearly double of what he received at Wittemberg, and other perquisites. As the ecclesiastical council at Dresden appeared to be taking no very active measures to confine him permanently to Saxony, every preparation was made for him at Helm-

* Any one who wishes to see a list of the most distinguished of these reviews, may consult Böttiger's Delineation of Reinhard's character, Note 36.

stadt, even to the hiring of a dwelling house for his residence. It was not long, however, before such active measures were taken and pressing invitations sent from Dresden, to induce him to remain where he was, which, together with his strong attachment to Wittemberg, finally prevailed. He therefore relinquished all idea of removal, but in so doing, he made it an express condition, that nothing should be said to him respecting increasing his salary or diminishing the duties of his office. It has often been said, that he was induced on this occasion, to act as he did, by the prospect held out before him, of ultimately attaining to the highest spiritual rank in Dresden. That this assertion, however, is utterly groundless, every one will conclude, who knows with how many struggles and internal prejudices he had to contend, before he could bring himself to leave Wittemberg, and the manner in which it has been refuted by the noble conference minister, the count of Schönberg.

All the pupils of Reinhard while at Wittemberg, speak of their incomparable teacher, says Böttiger, with a kind of enthusiasm. From some gentlemen who were intimately connected with him, and whose information can be relied upon, I have received the following account of his mode of teaching, and his habits of life at this time.*

Reinhard intimately combined in himself all those qualifications which Villers, who deserve so well of Germany and the reformation, several years afterwards, named as requisites to constitute a suitable teacher for a Protestant university.† His lectures evinced equal solidity in their contents and elocution. He read lectures four, and often five hours daily. Each of them was made ready before hand, and stitched into a small pamphlet by itself. Every hour of lecturing was nevertheless preceded by the most conscientious preparation. Hence, every thing he said

* Messrs. Weise, superintendent in Herzberg, and Kenzelmann, archdeacon in Meissen both of them closely connected with their immortal teacher for many years, and his intimate friends to the close of his life, should be here named by me, adds Böttiger, in very grateful terms.

† Coup d'oeil sur les Universités de l' Allemagne protestante, p. 88. The passage in which these qualities are named, may be seen, by consulting Böttiger, Note 38. He must be moral, learned, eloquent, acquainted with human nature, apt to teach, celebrated as a writer, &c.

was new, and as he said it, exciting and attractive. He was guided by general positions, which were often given out and written down in the first place. In lecturing, he went no faster than his audience could hear and write down what he said, without haste. His slowness, however, in this respect, did not injure the agreeableness of his elocution. His utterance of itself, and his general mode of address were very interesting. In addition to this, he had a large fund of anecdotes, refutations, illustrations, and witty remarks, with which he knew how to enliven his discourse; so that the most part of his audience preferred listening to him with the most fixed attention, and *left*, as they should do, the most important parts of the lecture to be written down from memory after they had retired to their rooms, this being the only beneficial method that can be pursued, though it requires the hearers to have formed a previous acquaintance with the subject. The copies which the students took of his lectures were multiplied for purposes of gain and sent into different parts of the country, as was afterwards done with his sermons.

His lectures were dignified, but filled with doubt and Socratic irony. His object, in all cases, was, to produce conviction by means of the truth, and excite persons to examine for themselves, and engage in private study. Praying after others, and blindly swearing to forms, was something he could never endure, and which he embraced every occasion to correct. Seriousness and jesting sat at the same moment upon his lips. Of course, he was interesting, and needed none of those little arts for filling up his lecture room to which many a modern Hippias is obliged to resort, for the purpose of attracting the rustling multitude. His lectures were never injured by the feints of polemics or half-yearly excursions after wit, nor the bribed approbation or extravagant praise of the worthless. He was always mentioned with respect by the learned, who had heard him, and been animated by him. In his refutations, he could inflict the sting of ridicule, though, in so doing, he always aimed at the thing, not the person. Of his colleagues in Wittemberg he never made mention, except when he had occasion to do so by way of commendation. His lectures were always delivered gratis. He put

them up, indeed, once in six months, for the sake of complying with the law, at the small price of three dollars; but the payers, as he once pleasantly remarked, were like the little streams that flow out of the Nile. He never *called* upon the rich for any thing, and never would receive any thing from the poor. He conducted in the same way, when he was subject to painful want. Whenever he could be, he was a genuine Socratic. To this character, however, he added the habit of close and intimate intercourse with the most susceptible of his pupils. To make a proper selection of them, an examination of minds was necessary, and one, too, of which the mere reading professor is totally incapable. As the surest means of effecting this, he instituted appropriate discussions, and, in after years, homiletical exercises, both of which he regulated, and animated with his presence. Not to give some account of these, would be to rob Reinhard of the freshest sprig of laurel he ever wore.

Twice every week, a select number of his hearers assembled together for the purpose of disputing and interpreting under him, which exercises were regularly alternated. The members of the association were 24 in number, 12 of whom were called ordinary, and 12 extraordinary, and, whenever a vacancy occurred, it was supplied by an election. In interpreting, a passage of some Greek, Latin, or sacred writer, was explained by a member of one of the two classes. The ordinaries usually had the business of criticising, opposing, and interpreting; the extraordinaries only that of opposing and interpreting. Reinhard always distributed the parts, though he prefered to leave the choice of the author to be interpreted, to the members themselves. Thus, at one time, Plato's Criton and Alcibiades, at another, the Gospel of John, and at a third, Virgil's Georgics and Seneca's epistles, were selected. The master had acquired such authority, that none, how much soever they trembled in anticipation of his opinion, presumed to be unfaithful so far even as to come late. Those who were destitute of courage in this respect, felt the reproaches of conscience, or dreaded the wit with which he usually lashed pride and youthful arrogance, chose rather to withdraw themselves entirely. When the

interpreter had given a definite account of the passage in question, and, from the usages of the language, from history, philosophy, and the writer's peculiar mode of thinking, as well as the age in which he lived, settled its proper meaning, Reinhard came forward and gave his criticism, in as precise terms as possible. In this case, he was always the advocate of those who had been attacked. In the end, however, he brought both parties to his own views, and, taking back what he had said in defending a particular side, reduced every thing to the four rules: *A man must think and explain in the mind of his author; every writer must be explained by himself; the philosopher can be explained only in the sense of his school; and a sacred writer only in accordance with the rules of dogmatics:* and he showed how seldom passages which appeared perfectly easy, had been penetrated into and fully comprehended; and how often single words, which had been deemed superfluous, had concealed the deepest sense. Woe to him who presumed to quote passages from the author or any other writer, without accuracy, or merely appealed to foreign testimony,—who would seem to dazzle by his learning without thoroughness. With wonderful readiness of memory and quickness of penetration, he examined the passage which had been quoted falsely or without an object, and showed its inapplicability, while he demanded the point to be proved, and compelled his pupils to examine it as closely as possible, and render it perfectly clear. *The ancients*, said he, *had oral statutes and treatises; the moderns teach, judge, and heal by books. Skill in interpreting, therefore, is indispensable to all professional men.* Indeed, law students often derived as much benefit from these exercises, as theological; to whom, as the sacred Scriptures are to be explained after the manner of men, every thing in this respect, is of the greatest importance. The theme for discussion was always selected a fortnight beforehand. Politics, philosophy and theology, alternated with history and philology, in furnishing subjects. Of these subjects, a person called a questor, kept a regular list in a book, which must still be extant. A dissertation written on it was criticised on Tuesday or Wednesday, and, when purified by their fiery ordeal, was

submitted to the attacks of opponents. The master's final opinion with his strictures and remarks upon the character of the given definition, the validity of the proof, the correctness of the language, and the divisions of the subject, was waited for with great anxiety. Often, he overturned the whole fabric and erected a new and far more excellent one in its stead, developing the most striking views as he went on. It then seemed as if the noon-day sun had all at once burst through a thick veil of clouds. The opponent had certainly prepared himself as far as possible, and many believed they had learned the art of maintaining their point from the master himself. The struggle was violent. Soon, however, the most obstinate was disarmed and compelled to yield, by a series of questions, which reduced his positions to absurdities, or by the application of some logical rule, such as, *that which proves too much proves nothing at all.* It was often the case, that a single remark of his, two or three words in length, thrown into a long series of proof drawn up by the opponent in excellent battle array, entirely destroyed the whole of it. If such an opponent arrogantly relied upon his youthful powers, or appealed to sacred truths and venerable names, he certainly had hard times, and in the end, as a punishment for his temerity, was overwhelmed by the master with biting sarcasm. For some time also, Reinhard held a conversational exercise once a fortnight, exclusively with the ordinaries. On such occasions, he most familiarly imparted to them his views upon theological subjects. The most difficult passages of Scripture, such as Gen. 32 : 24—32, 1 Cor. 11 : 10, were talked about, and the most noted and valuable books brought from their hiding places. Before this institute was thoroughly established, however, it was broken up, by Reinhard's removal to Dresden. A small monthly tax was also levied upon each member of the above named association, out of which a little capital was formed for defraying the expenses of printed discussions held from time to time, by way of trial, under Reinhard. They all exhibit the spirit of the master. Some of them were defended by him in his *Opuscula.* Others, however, clearly evince their youthful origin, by their style. An irreproachable moral character was an indispensable requisite for any one

who would belong to this intellectual association for any length of time. To this regulation, the master was able inexorably to adhere, in spite of earnest entreaties and sounding acquisitions. The more fiery the head and ready the tongue, provided it was not guilty of mere chattering, so much the more welcome the scholar. Nothing but learning and acuteness would pass. The overseer, however, who knew how to draw the reins, as well as to indulge in ridicule, led them all to the same sacred goal,—to the truth. The sparks here enkindled, often burst out into a flame, and continued to blaze during life. Those who belonged to this association of select persons, even now, think of these genuine academical exercises in the old sense of the word, with grateful recollections.

In the second period of Reinhard's residence at the university, from 1784 to 1792, when preaching became one of the sacred duties of his office, he felt himself unable conscientiously, any longer to refrain from complying with the pressing invitations of the students, to engage in homiletical exercises. Accordingly, a little society was formed for this purpose, composed of 16 ordinary members, and a greater number of extraordinary. From each of the ordinary members in turn, was required the plan of a sermon, and a week after it was examined, a sermon written after this plan, and most carefully finished. From the extraordinary members was required nothing but plans handed in, agreeably to a particular order. Sometimes the ordinaries had to form plans and write out sermons upon the Gospel texts, at others, upon the epistolary, and sometimes propositions were given out for occasional sermons. Both the sermons and the plans were delivered to the president, as Reinhard was called, two days before hand, and on Monday evening, between five and six, he went over them. It was a feast on such occasions, to listen to his criticisms. Often, there were two hundred persons present, all true worshippers of Themis and Hygeia. The plans were first read aloud and dissected. The authors of these plans then made their appearance, and, by means of the Socratic art, were relieved of their difficulties, and corrected, wherever they were wrong or indefinite. A plan was generally returned with improvements, and often ac-

companied with a new one. The objections of its author, were solicited and the replies he gave, carefully weighed, and fully answered by the important and acute suggestions of the president. In criticising the sermons, Reinhard looked mainly after logical periods, plain dignified expressions, and correct conclusions. As he passed on, he often read a period which was too long and intricate, before the audience, and showed how impossible it would be, to declaim it in an eloquent manner. The principal rules he laid down were the following: The exordium begins with singles, and ascends to the general of the theme. The theme must be divested of all obscurity, and made as specific as possible, otherwise it cannot be exhausted or rendered attractive. The practical view of a subject must always gain something by the theoretical. No positions should be proved but doubtful ones, or those which pre-suppose doubts. The theme must be wholly contained in the text, but not lie immediately upon the face of it, nor be a subtility. The parts must follow after each other in natural order, sustain each other, and become clearer as they advance. The sub-divisions must not be named before hand, as it will terrify the audience with the prospect of a long sermon. The conclusion must be as elevated and touching, as possible; first, we must have light, then heat. He made various valuable reflections also, as he went along; as for instance, he banished hypotheses from the pulpit and would never draw a proof from the apocryphal books, this being opposed to the Augsburg Confession; and hence, no allusion to any of these books, is to be found in his printed sermons. Whatever he said of a psychological character was particularly interesting; as for instance, when he advised his pupils to speak with great tenderness of the sin of pleasure, as voluptuaries will listen to heart-felt language, but run away from threats. With this homiletical society, was connected a reading establishment, to which each member contributed a few pence every month. Books of a theological, philosophical, and historical character, to the number of fifty a week, having been selected and examined by Reinhard, whom nothing excellent escaped in this respect, were thus brought into circulation. Reinhard's pulpit ad-

dresses, however, which were of a most masterly character and regularly delivered every Sunday and festival, in the University Church, while he was provost, crowned his labors. On these occasions, he practically exhibited those precepts which he had taught with such clearness theoretically in his preparatory exercises. His sermons had been carefully worked out and committed to memory, and his action, enunciation and entire mode of address were so perfect, as scarcely to leave any thing more to be wished for. Of course, others applied Reinhard's measure to themselves and endeavored to imitate him.* His sermons were certainly approved of by those who professed to be scholars, and but few ever found fault with them. They were full of soul-animating addresses, individual references, and allusions, especially to the students, who took notice of the gentlest whispers directed to them, and the impression they produced was so great, as often to last for one's whole life. It sometimes seemed as if an electric shock had passed through the assembly. Especially was this the effect of the concluding words of the second part of a sermon printed by request, which he delivered on the afternoon of Good Friday in 1778, from John 17 : 12, entitled : *How happy shall we depart, if like Jesus we leave no one behind us whom we ought to have pitied.* Reinhard, who was characterized by his severity toward himself, and his mildness towards others, has expressed himself much too severely respecting these sermons. It is true, they are not adapted to a country congregation, but the reason is manifest, for they were prepared for, and delivered to, such hearers as we usually find in a University Church; and such sermons should be composed and applied very differently from those delivered to an audience of ignorant people. Only eighteen of these sermons have as yet been printed, though a handsome and very useful

* "I never heard Reinhard preach but once, which was a great many years ago. I well remember, however, that his enunciation was perfectly clear and distinct, though I thought he spoke too fast, and observed some traces of a foreign dialect, (peregrinitas,) in his pronunciation, especially in his doubling some consonants, which cannot be considered as a fault, however, as Germany has no Athens, Rome or Paris, to decide in matters of this kind. I thought his action livelier than that of most of the preachers I had then heard. His gestures were generally of an indefinite character, indicating a deep sympathy in his discourse rather than an attempt at visible representation." Tzschirner's Briefe, S. 246 ff.

selection might be made out of them, amply worthy of the public.

It was not merely as a preacher, however, that Reinhard stood forth as a pattern of excellence. He was distinguished for his genuine religious conscientiousness, and by it, produced a visible effect not only upon his hearers, but all with whom he had to do. A few words from him were often sufficient to quell very stormy appearances. He never sacrificed a single hour to pleasure, which ought to be devoted to his business as a teacher. He never failed to preach every Sunday and festival when in good health, the three Sundays and festivals after fasts and feasts, excepted. He delivered his lectures punctually, and by no consideration whatever, could be induced to break in upon his firmly established order. *First my duty and then my pleasure*, he used to say, as he excused himself from accepting invitations to indulge in relaxation, or take a repast with a stranger at an unseasonable hour. And to what an extent did he carry his activity! When we reflect, that, in addition to the sermons he carefully wrote out and delivered, and the homiletical exercises and discussions to which he attended, he, to the no small offence of his more idle colleagues, read four lectures daily; that while he did so, he conscientiously attended to his other academical duties, his business as an author, and the labors of the consistory, being then assessor of the consistory at Wittemberg; that at the same time, he gave private instruction to his wife's son and others who desired it, carried on an extensive correspondence, and zealously pursued his own studies;—when we reflect upon all this, it seems almost impossible to conceive, why his body, feeble as it was, did not sink under the burden. To what has already been said of him, should be added the innocence and simplicity of his character. He took an especial interest in poor students. Out of his own income, he yearly applied not a small sum to the supply of their wants. It is true, that from constant efforts, the serious nature of his employment and the effects of sickness, his countenance had acquired a degree of severity; yet he received all who requested to see him, with sincere affability. *He never promised, however, what he could not*

perform, and hence, while at Wittemberg, he had the universal esteem of its inhabitants. His domestic life, also, was a pattern of excellence. While a student, and after he became a private teacher, he made the severe goddess Peneia his inseparable, household companion; and even after he began to lecture, took a glass of water for his breakfast, a cup of coffee for his dinner, and some warm food for his frugal supper. To this temperate mode of living, he faithfully adhered even after he was married. He labored incessantly until 7 o'clock in the evening, a little excursion in his garden excepted; from that time to eight, read papers, journals, and amusing works, or entertained himself with the friends who often called upon him at this hour and partook with him of his evening's repast. Precisely at 10 o'clock, they went away and he retired to rest. Thus passed his life while at Wittemberg. It was to the highest degree regular. In addition to all this, he held the most familiar intercourse with the wise and good around, and, in an especial sense, shared the hearty sympathy and love of a wife tenderly devoted to him; and when he left the place where he had lived and acted so much like an unwearied philanthropist and Christian sage, he was followed with tears of gratitude, reverence and love.

IV. Reinhard at Dresden.

In 1792, Reinhard became chief court preacher at Dresden,—a station which he occupied, until death. The years of activity which he spent in this ecclesiastical station, one of the most important as it is, in Saxony, must be considered in close connexion with the course of preparation he passed through, in teaching, preaching and writing, while at the university. Without having gone through such a course, he would hardly have become the powerful, perfect, ever new, interesting and inexhaustible orator; the critical examiner of youths and those called to teach, fill professorships at the universities, and attend to the cure of souls; the ever watchful, honest, wise, and prudent overseer of the most important institutions of the

country; and the finished writer, thorough and splendid investigator, constant deviser of good, and paternal counsellor in awakening, admonishing and warning thousands at home and abroad, which he in reality did. In these respects, his university life must be considered as having laid the foundation of his usefulness while at Dresden, though he daily grew in wisdom, experience, and perfection. In nothing, however, was he a more worthy example to his contemporaries, and in nothing is the secret of his great usefulness more evidently to be sought, than in his internal piety, Christian humility, courage in the cause of truth, and his self-control; in which respects, he underwent do change in the several stations to which he was called, but that of regular progression. I cannot here enter into a detailed examination of all his excellencies in these respects, says Böttiger, nor think of developing them as a biographer should do. A few passing remarks must suffice

One of the most important duties connected with the station of ecclesiastical councillor, is, to hold examinations in the chief consistory for licensing young men to preach the Gospel. In performing these duties, therefore, Reinhard reaped great benefit from the academical exercises to which he had attended in homiletics and polemics, while at the university. These examinations were usually held twice a year, and always in the Latin language. On such occasions, very vivid discussions took place between Reinhard and the superintendents, and the room, as might be expected, was thronged with persons who admired his conversational eloquence, and his skill in developing thought, even though they disapproved of the vivacity with which the examination itself was conducted and the learning displayed.* Having for sixteen years, as professor and president, directed discussions with a spirit of vivacity and love, and accustomed himself to dialectical forms, he could not easily refrain from using them, whenever duty and office presented an occasion. The lively manner in which Reinhard conducted these consistorial exercises, certainly did not spring from any trifling effort to please

* Reinhard was often complained of, in these respects. See Tzschirner's Rede bei Reinhard's Gedachtnissfeier, in Leipzig, S. 34.

the listening multitude, or a want of self-control. It was the natural result of his clear and quick penetration, and the habits he had acquired, while at Wittemberg. His only object, during the short time allotted him for these exercises, was, to try the mind in those things in which, formulas committed to memory, can be of no use. Hence, he inquired less after the opinions of candidates, than their objections. These, he sometimes apparently made his own; while he frequently supposed doubtful cases in the question, and thus sought, not to show his own superiority, but to give his opponents an opportunity to show themselves; and happy he was, when he found them on the right side. As his conversation assumed a very definite and logical character, every skilful man readily perceived what he was about, and rejoiced at his mode of proceeding. None but the ignorant trembled before him or complained of his want of forbearance, as those who can hardly sustain an examination, are accustomed to do. Happy the land which has such spiritual directors and guardians of the ministry, as a Reinhard and a Tittmann, both of whom were prepared for the stations they occupied, not only by deep piety, but the previous course of studies through which they had gone, at the university.

And how necessary to qualify Reinhard for this very station, was the classical education which he had received in the ancient languages! In the excellent and well regulated high schools of Saxony, the Latin had early been cultivated to a very great degree of perfection. At the Saxon universities, no one can distinguish himself to any considerable degree, who is unable to read and write this language with ease and elegance. Of course, a chief court preacher in Saxony, whose business it is, to superintend all these institutions and their examinations, must, if he is what he ought to be, be a perfect and thorough critic in this respect. It was a matter of duty, therefore, and not merely of ornament, that Reinhard should be able to express himself with as much beauty and fluency in this learned language, as in the German. The Greek, however, was his favorite. He did not suffer a single year to pass away without reading some books of the Odyssey, which, as regards practicalness, he considered superior to

the Iliad, and some of Demosthenes' orations and Plato's dialogues, or one of the Greek moralists, which he called his preacher's Magazine. He preferred Polybius, however, above all others. He attended closely to the oriental languages of the Bible, had made considerable progress in them, and was by no means unacquainted with the Arabic. The three principal languages of Europe he read with facility. All these acquisitions, however, a thinker as he was, he looked upon solely as his instruments. To the circle of the theological sciences, with which he was acquainted in the most extensive sense,* he added a thorough and intimate knowledge of philosophy and history, which he considered as the most important subjects of investigation and study. Of the use which he made of the former in sermonizing, he has told us in his Confessions. Indeed, one has only to read his sermons, not even his later ones excepted, to be constrained to confess, that their greatest beauty consists in the philosophical truths and proofs they contain. He had extended his investigations into the various branches of the modern philosophy, the *Idealistic* as well as the *Pantheistic* and *Neological*, and written upon them in his letters in a strain of the most excellent criticism,—for the last time, in a letter to Professor Weiss of Naumburg, upon the work, *Concerning the living God.* The boundaries to which he always confined himself in this field, are pointed out, in what he says of his creed, in his preface to the third edition of his *Moral.* This, with which however should be connected his preface to Crell's Phyrrho and Philalethes, is the only place in which he has published his opinion upon this subject; though, in conversation, he often expressed his aversion to the phantasms, errors, and mysticisms which were incessantly springing up like weeds, in this field. He was certainly ready to do justice to every system and speculation which did not exclude genuine piety, and, by means of sophistical arts, puzzle the minds of youth. Krug and Schulz, both his pupils, and two of the most eloquent and acute teachers of this philosophy in Leipsic and Göttingen,

* Doederlein pronounced Reinhard the second theologian in Germany. Reinhard's Dogmatik, Preface, ed. Berger.

will confirm this; and should they write down their own views and experience for this purpose, would erect the most beautiful monument to the memory of their well remembered teacher and friend. Psychology, however, was Reinhard's favorite study, and every thing which had the remotest reference to it, attracted his whole attention. He was one of the most attentive hearers of Dr. Gall's psychological lectures in the summer of 1805, and bore testimony to the fulness of his observations and the richness of his imagination, though he shook his head at some of his deductions. To the author of a *Moral* grounded as Reinhard's was, and to a pulpit orator, whose object was, to find something which would go home to his hearers, and induce them to look into their own bosoms, this study naturally presented a wide, most useful, and inviting field.

He dwelt more in the history of all ages and nations, than many *professors* of history. In this case his memory, always good at retaining matters of fact, served him well. For the sole purpose of completing his work *Respecting a trifling spirit*,* he had, while academical teacher, read the whole of Plutarch's Lives, and, with rare diligence, studied the sources of ecclesiastical history, in which all modern history originates. Schröckh was his teacher in this department, and became his confidential friend. During the latter part of his life, he formed an intimate acquaintance with John von Müller,† whose unfeigned piety he considered as a most valuable quality. He first became acquainted with this man on a journey to Vienna, in 1802, in the imperial library, where he found him like a lord in his own dominions, and in him discovered both a political and Christian brother. From that time, they constantly maintained a correspondence with each other. In the summer of 1806, Müller visited Reinhard at Dresden for the second time,‡ and hearing him preach respecting the *improvability of human nature*, promised to take notice of

* Ueber den Kleinigkeitsgeist in der Sittenlehre, Meisen, 1801.

† A native of Schafhausen where he was born, January the 3d, 1752, and a celebrated historian, author of a great number of publications. He firmly adhered to the old orthodox system of faith, and died May 29th, 1809. His last words were: *Every thing which is, is from God, and every thing comes from God.*

‡ Compare J. v. Müller's Letters to his brother, Werke. Th. VII. S. 41 and 214.

the subject, in publishing his *universal history;* for Reinhard asserted, that the progress of the human race was most intimately connected with a belief in the improvability of the individual, and that he who doubted this last position, could not be a Christian. Reinhard looked upon history as a third revelation, giving us an account of the great family of God. He would have made an admirable historian had not other duties and callings prevented; and he often complained, both orally and in his letters, that no occasion had presented, for gratifying his wishes in this respect.* To be convinced of this, one needs only to glance at his work *Respecting Christ's plan*, which has been the means of confirming thousands in the truth. This work, which no one has of late more finely apprehended, or more correctly estimated, than the ingenious Dr. Blessig of Strasburg,† has long been looked upon by judges, not only on account of the internal strength and the conclusiveness of the reasoning, but also the genuine historical skill displayed in the invention and the arrangement of the points of comparison, as well as the newness of the results drawn from long established matters of fact, as the best apology for Christianity that modern times have produced. The first outlines of this work, which was occasioned by the same attacks upon the founder of Christianity, as Eberhard's Amyntor about this time, were delivered in an academical production. Soon afterwards, he received pressing invitations from all quarters, to extend them and publish them for the sake of readers at large; the result of which, was, the appearance of the first edition of the *Plan* in year 1781, the fourth and last edition of which, under the superintendence of the author, was published in 1798. Particularly worthy of notice is that part of this work added to the fourth edition, in which he shows, that Jesus did not avail himself of a secret society for the execution of his plan. The parasitical plan of a secret, mystical and magical society, which

* "Had I given myself up to my inclinations, I should have cultivated no field with greater pleasure, than that of history, but I have never found it possible to do so. The circumstances and indispensable duties of my life, have always chained me down to other labors." Thus he expressed himself in a letter to Prof. Kö he of Jena, in 1811. See Köthe, Ueber Reinhard's Leben und Bildung, S. 44.

† Sur l' influence de la religion protestante—Sermon de Reinhard—avec une notice sur Mr. Reinhard, Strasbourg, 1808, p. 50—55.

was then flourishing luxuriantly around the very throne in the Prussian state, and which pretended that Jesus made use of a secret society for the execution of his plan, induced the author ever attentive as he was, to the signs of the times, to show how entirely different He thought upon the subject, who came into the world to bear testimony to the truth. From this time, Reinhard seized every opportunity which presented, for unreservedly expressing his disapprobation of the obscurities of mystical societies, and, faithful to his opinion, publicly censured even those harmless societies, whose internal character he could not examine for himself. His original object in projecting the work respecting Christ's plan, however, was to give a popular and historical estimation of all the proofs for the truth of Christianity. His psychological essay *Upon miracles*, the first part of which alone has been printed, was intended for the beginning of it;—a production, which also shows that the author had the parts necessary to make an excellent historian, and is worthy of being drawn from the obscurity in which it is concealed.

Another proof of his talents for a historian may be drawn from his Reformation Sermons. These sermons were delivered on reformation festival in the Castle, or Seminary Church at Wittemberg. Deeply affected at beholding the graves of the reformers, which always stood in view, and even a drunken and victorious Charles had commanded to be spared,* and glowing with the spirit of a Luther and Bugenhagen, he endeavored in each succeeding sermon for these occasions, to select such a topic out of the multitude in history, as seemed most important and calculated to produce the greatest effects. At one time, he expressed his warm and decided disapprobation of the frivolous conceitedness with which some had endeavored to undermine the doctrines of the reformation, and declared them altogether untenable; at another, he came forward and boldly defended Protestantism against the objections which had been raised against it, to bring it into suspicion; at a third, he showed, that the doctrine of free grace through Jesus Christ, the very corner stone of the reformation,

* Charles the Great. Compare Pölitz, in Heinrich's Handbuch der Sächs. Geschichte, II. 266.

had to a great extent, been rejected; at a fourth, in the spirit of Heeren and Villers, he gave a powerful and faithful exhibition of the results of this divine work. To do this last, in a connected and well arranged manner, and accompany it with notes and excursions, was a task which he often attempted, and the work carried out as it has been by one well acquainted with history and possessed of a kindred spirit, while it completely justifies our belief of the author's historical acuteness, will be productive of the happiest results.* To the same purpose, however, we might quote many others of his most successful sermons, in which he makes only gentle allusions to affairs in which he took an interest of a kind far different from that common to the every day readers of newspapers.

It was Reinhard's extensive knowledge of history which enabled him to execute his *Christian Ethics, or Moral*, as he did,—a work which established his immortality as a writer.† This work, comprised in five volumes, which is not founded upon the transcendental speculations of any particular school, but the common sense of all the cultivated nations of ancient and modern Europe, and hence, must be of permanent value, is full of the richest psychological and historical remarks, and is pervaded by a spirit of the most enlightened and heartfelt Christianity. It is known to be the fruit of his oft repeated lectures and most strenuous and conscientious investigations, while at Wittemberg. Indeed, the two first parts of it were published while he resided there. We may boldly say, that Reinhard was the first who entered into a detailed examination of the great law and means for ennobling our nature, and his extensive learning and deep piety certainly well qualified him for the undertaking. Christian morality, the object of which is to make men perfect like their Father in

* C. R. Seidel, an intelligent publisher, of Sulzbach. Reinhard had obtained possession of the elegant English quarto edition of *Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo the X*, with fine wooden cuts, and given it a careful examination. What Seidel and Reinhard left unfinished, Dr. Tzschirner the continuator of Schröckh's Church History, undertook to perform.

† System der Christlichen Moral, 5te Aufl. improved and enlarged in five volumes. This work is worthy of all the commendation which Böttiger, from whom the following is taken, bestows upon it. We may question whether there is any thing of a similar character equal to it; certainly there is not in the English language, into which, barren as we are of systematical ethical works, it ought to be translated.

Heaven, supposes human nature to be possessed of a grand bias or instinct for maturity and perfection.* Accordingly, Reinhard's entire *Moral* is founded upon nothing in itself considered, but upon the safer principles of psychology and the Bible. His system is perfectly consistent and this work as it regards practicalness, contains an inexhaustible fund of information for the edification and improvement of all Christians and teachers, how much so ever their speculative views and creeds may differ from each other. It unites solidity with clearness, and the most mature reading with the most thorough acquaintance with the human heart. As out of regard to the first purchasers he avoided making any essential change in its original order, the latter part of it almost necessarily contains some amended repetitions. As a whole, however, it resembles a beautiful palace, for every part of the superstructure of which, the master workman made calculations in the foundation. It was a source of great anguish, and the last with which Reinhard had to contend, that he was unable to complete this work. The two first questions to which Reinhard had to attend, in Christian ethics, were: *What is man, and what is he to become?* To these questions he attended in the three first parts. A third now remained to be answered: namely, *By what means is man to be made, what he is to become?* or in a word, to *Christian ascetics*, of which Reinhard at first undertook to give a connected representation in the fourth part. In the course of his investigations, however, carrying them out as he did to every point and drinking in truth from every quarter, he found himself unable to exhaust the subject in one volume. He was obliged in the first place to prove what has so often been questioned; the improvability of human nature. With this proof he begins the fourth part of his Christian Ethics, in which he gives the most satisfactory results, respecting the problem with which Herder in his *Ideen*† has occupied himself so much; *Whether this can be proved from the history of the world?* In this case also, Reinhard shows how well he was qualified for a historian. To effect this improve-

* Christl. Moral, Th. I. S. 54.

† Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Gesch. der Menchheit, 4 Thle. Riga. 1792.

ment of human nature, higher aid is necessary, as the Gospel teaches us. Here then comes in the whole doctrine respecting the gracious operations of the Holy Spirit, which has so often been misunderstood by Mystics and Rationalists. Of course, it was necessary to exhibit this doctrine in a practical point of view. To this succeeded the doctrines of the reasons and motives which lead man to aim at goodness, of which he gave an entirely new representation. Having then laid down five fundamental positions for judging of the means by which virtue is to be attained, he proceeds to a lucid examination and illustration of them separately. Having said thus much of the means of virtue, the author then enters upon what is called practical ethics, or *ethical gymnastics;* that is, upon a scientific explanation of all the means and rules which have ever been made use of or ever can be, for extirpating evil and implanting good, according to the precepts of reason and the Gospel. Into what a field of phenomena and errors, both without and within the circle of monkish asceticism and of mysticism, are we here introduced! He who in company with this skilful mystagogue, passes through the whole of this wonderful gallery of efforts, sometimes bordering upon the most enthusiastic phrenzy, at others, the most exalted self-denial, will hesitate whether most to admire the extensive reading of the learned and pious author, his practical views, or his peculiar gift at representation. Faithful to the division of his subject into those means of virtue which are somewhat *sensuous*,* and those which are are purely spiritual, the author continues to trace out to the end of the fourth part, all the *sensuous* means of virtue with which the nature of the subject presented him. The fifth and last part, of which only twelve sheets were printed at the time of his death, begins with those *sensuous* means of virtue which are expressly recommended and prescribed by the Christian religion, in which, as so many memorials to his own and succeeding generations, he gives

* *Sensuous*, that is concerned with, or addressed to, the senses. In this sense the word has been used by some late English writers upon philosophy, at least by Coleridge,—a use to which they are driven by necessity, the word sensual, having nearly lost this specifical meaning, and being generally employed to express what is carnal.

the results of his views respecting the use of the sacred Scriptures, the public worship of God, and the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. He then, in a second division, comes to the consideration of the purely spiritual means of virtue, which he has previously named (§430,) which are confined in part to ourselves, consisting in collection of mind, self-examination, self-observation and rational self-enjoyment; in part are directed to other objects, consisting in pious contemplation, and in part are directed entirely to God, consisting in the pious union of feeling and prayer. He then speaks of the importance of firmly adhering to productive principles and practical rules, exercising a voluntary self-denial, and maintaining a careful watchfulness over ourselves, in order to true improvement, and concludes with the origin of true improvement and the gradual approximation of men to perfection. Of course, the last sheets have not received those final corrections, finishing strokes, and clear remarks, which he usually gave his works when about to send them to the press; for he was interrupted in the midst of his labor by his call to a higher world. From what has been said, we can easily perceive, what farther the author's plan comprehended which has not as yet been carried out in detail; for he has left the second grand division, which was to constitute the finishing stone of the whole well arranged and noble building, including *moral pedagogics* and the *doctrines of education*, almost wholly untouched. This was a work which lay near Reinhard's heart, and one from which he anticipated much good, and to its completion he looked forward as to the goal of his wishes. He left it unfinished indeed, but the will of the Lord is done.*

'This work on Christian Ethics,' says Böttiger, 'may also be considered as the rich and inexhaustible repertory of his sermons, now amounting in all, to about thirty-nine volumes. These sermons every where contain clear and definite allusions to this work, by which means its use for ministers is greatly facilitated. They constitute one of the most

* What Reinhard left unprinted of the manuscript to the fifth part of his *Moral*, has since been published word for word as he left it, under the inspection of P. C. W. Graf—von Hohenthal, (who married Reinhard's widow in 1815,) and furnished with the requisite indexes by C. Fr. Bartzsch of Pirna.

splendid memorials we can have, of this great man. They are adapted to the wants of our German churches, are rich in thought, abound in the exposition of errors, and in genuine explanations of the Bible, and to every believer in revelation capable of reading them, are invaluable as a means of edification, and will doubtless exert great influence in improving the human race. Indeed, they may be considered as a safe guide to almost every step of that spiritual ladder which connects earth with heaven, and as long as the German language endures, will be read, quoted and admired, for their simplicity, elegant diction, clearness and fulness of thought and overflowing piety. They are admirable specimens of invention, easy and natural development of thought from a given text, facility and regular progress in arrangement, and continuing the power of convincing from one position to another, and of an eloquence chaste and symmetrical in all its parts; and are samples of reasoning and strength which none but such an ingenious admirer of Cicero and Demosthenes as he was, could have produced. He imitated no one, but he will long be imitated by persons who cannot attain to his degree of perfection.* While on a visit to one of the large cities of Germany, in attending the public worship of God, he listened to one of his own sermons. He smiled at the incident, but he always censured those who attempted slavishly to imitate his manner of preaching. To those who wished to be saved, however, his sermons were peculiarly valuable for their warm devotional spirit, and their power to take hold of the conscience. The truths they contained were drawn from the Gospel, and the manner in which these truths were exhibited, and the spirit that breathed in every page, were such, as could have come from none but a man of Reinhard's learning, who had attained to satisfying views, by passing through the most violent struggles, and felt confident, that what he uttered was from God. They are built upon the Bible, and

* Of the invention, arrangement, and composition, of these sermons, the author himself has imparted to us sufficient information in his Confessions. Various writers in Saxony and elsewhere have also given them a rigid examination; among whom may be named, Wächter, Greiling, Gräfe, Schott, Dr. Blessig, and Tzschirner. The last is very judicious and discriminating. See Briefe, &c. S. 90, ff.

as long as the Bible endures, they will be read as a source of edification and consolation by all who sigh after the quickening influences of God's spirit. Many of them have been translated into the Danish, French, and Dutch, a few into the English, and one of his Reformation sermons was translated into the French by Dr. Blessig of Strasburg, a man of a kindred spirit, accompanied with many precious additions. To these sermons, the author devoted his clearest, brightest, and best hours. Each of them cost him equal labor.'

In the year 1808, Reinhard was commissioned by the highest authority, to select a new course of texts for two years, which, united with the old one, should constitute a regularly returning series for three years, to be used throughout the kingdom. This new course commenced in 1809. The evangelical Court Church however was a year ahead of the other churches in this respect. For this church, therefore, Reinhard was commissioned to make a new selection for the year 1811, in order that they might all come together in 1812. This gave Reinhard an opportunity to preach from three new series of texts for three years in succession, and enabled him to speak upon many subjects which he would not otherwise have done; and hence, this series of his sermons, is particularly valuable and of especial importance. Reinhard was extremely fond of the historical texts which he had selected for the first year's course, and preached seventeen sermons of great value upon the most useful narratives of the Acts. The selections which he made for the church have since been most fully approved of, and as they had long been called for by the age, cannot in the strict sense of the word, be considered as his. He himself could have preached twenty years longer from the old series, as is evident from a book in which he has entered his themes.*

As Reinhard had one of the most difficult of predecessors to surpass, even himself, the execution of his sermons became yearly more and more laborious. Governed as he was by conscience in every sermon he wrote, he failed not to select the best subject he could deduce from the text in connexion with the circumstances under which he

* Compare Reinhard's Moral, §. 360. Th. IV. 9.

was to speak, however disagreeable it might be to him. Those of his discourses which were prepared for particular festivals of the year, are the most distinguished. Of his reformation sermons, I have already spoken. The sermons which he delivered on the assembling of the Diet, were in a measure consecrated to political affairs, as well as to ecclesiastical. The sermons which he delivered on the three great fasts which are yearly observed in Saxony, were mostly patriotic addresses of a purely evangelical character. As every Sunday was in a certain sense, devoted to fasting and spiritual improvement, he felt it proper for him to devote these fasts to admonishing his fellow citizens to attend to the welfare of their native country; it being impossible, as he believed, for a nation to prosper, if unsustained by religion. The sermons which he delivered on Michaelmas almost always had a reference to the invisible, spiritual kingdom of God; those delivered on the feast of Mary's Purification, often contained directions for the Christian education of children. Of all his sermons, however, those delivered on Maundy-Thursday, at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, were the most interesting, full of reviving instruction as they were, and expressly adapted to the occasion. It should also be added, that Reinhard devoted great attention to those sermons which he composed from epistolary texts during the year 1806. Of course, numerous as Reinhard's sermons are and diverse in kind, there is room enough for skilful hands, to make some happy selections out of them;* but to attempt, as some have done, to give us Reinhard in a nutshell, is the most egregious folly, and seems to come little short of sacrilege.

* Such selections have been attempted in Germany, with the approbation of Reinhard's friends, especially by Dr. Hacker, the editor of many of his sermons, and the colleague next to him in the evangelical Court Church.

Whether the English reader of Reinhard's sermons will fully assent to the above remarks upon them, drawn from Böttiger is a matter of doubt. They show at least the estimation in which these sermons are held by evangelical Christians in Germany. I have chosen however to present the reader with Böttiger's opinion. Having done so, but little room is left for saying any thing more. Certain it is, that Reinhard's sermons exhibit rich thought, great powers of eloquence, and fervent piety. Those which he delivered in the latter part of his life, however, surpass those which he delivered while at Wittemberg, and those which he delivered from texts of his own selection, or without being compelled to rack the given lesson of the day for an appropriate theme, are full of practical wisdom, glowing eloquence, and fervent piety.

Reinhard always preached memoriter. To do so, cost him severe labor, in the midst of which he often smiled at the artifices of Mnemonics, of which he at least made no use, and sometimes, and justly too, became indignant against those, who, out of laziness or self-conceit, neither accurately conceive nor commit to memory, and thus, in a little while, run without exception into the most striking superficiality. And indeed, who, when Reinhard, oppressed as he was by important duties, could find time to get his sermons by heart, will have the face to excuse himself in this respect, by alleging his want of time? It is wonderful, and yet true, that Reinhard not only wrote out his sermons and committed them to memory, but often preached in this way three times a week, and was always perfectly himself. We can account for his ability to sustain such labor, only by the fact, that amidst his pains, sleepless nights and busy days, he was a man of prayer, and drew his strength from God. He always spoke with the glowing fire of eloquence, even when oppressed with disease, and seemed to derive the greatest benefit from the exercises of the pulpit. More than half of his audience, numerous as it was, was composed of persons whom he had educated by preaching. In this respect, he well knew the duty of a minister, whether in the city or the country; and he always maintained that a minister should attend to the education of his hearers, and not run from village to village. Whenever he preached, stenographers were employed to take down his sermons, and so faithfully did they execute their task, that their copies often agreed word for word with the original as it was afterwards printed.

Reinhard made his duties as court preacher the first and principal object of his attention;* the numerous calls

Most of the sermons above named with special approbation, may be read with great profit, and it may be added, that a selection of them, if well translated into English, would constitute a valuable production. Let the reader, however, constantly remember the palliating circumstances under which these sermons were written and delivered, if he feels inclined to complain of the difference between them and some of our revival sermons.

* Of his zeal in this respect, some estimate can be formed from the facts, that, during the three last years of his life, his physicians and friends unanimously urged him to preach less frequently, as his efforts were wearing him out, and that the ministers of the conference sent to him a request that he would spare himself; but he always replied by alleging his very title, as an evidence that he was called to preach.

which came to him as an ecclesiastical and consistorial councillor of the kingdom, the second; the oral and written advice requested by hundreds who looked to him for direction and instruction, the third; and his business as an author, as delightful as either of the others, the fourth. Dr. Tittmann was his only spiritual colleague,—a man equally honored by the church, for his rare learning and fervent piety. Both, having unitedly to oversee the churches, schools, and universities of the country, had their hands full of business, though they found able coadjutors and enlightened promoters of their plans in the public ministers and others, upon whom the execution of ecclesiastical affairs in Saxony, depend. Of Dr. Tittmann we may say, so great was his labor, that nothing but his acquaintance with business and firm attachment to the performance of duty, could have carried him through it all.

Saxony has always been noted for her aversion to hasty measures and reforms, and hence, often accused of adhering to the old system of things. Whenever the improvements proposed, however, have been of a solid character and have originated in conscientiousness, wisdom and integrity, they have readily been introduced into the constitutions of the church and state with which people had long felt themselves satisfied, but yet with silent, cautious, considerate steps, and feelings, which chose to act rather than to speak. Her movements might indeed be looked upon as slow in the judgment of anticipating rashness, but they closed the door to every wicked Epimetheus, while they effectually opened it to every man of real knowledge, judgment and information. And such a man was Reinhard. He himself had doubted, examined and grasped, at every thing worthy of man. He tolerated, respected, and treasured up, the thoughts of others. In a certain sense, he honored the genuine Rationalist. He treated none but half enlighteners with contempt. Merchants and money changers he would not have in the temple of God, and to them all he applied the words of the angel to the Church at Laodicea. In this and several other respects, he took the first great reformer at Wittemberg for his pattern. He was never guilty in any respect, of persecuting or harshly treating those who thought differ-

ently from himself. To every one who learnt his own lesson well, he showed kindness, while he left God to judge the heart. Hence, his influence and authority in Saxony are to be estimated as much by what he prevented, as by what he effected; for few have exhibited equal Christian wisdom and forbearance. He gave his support to Protestantism, but he hated every thing like polemics, and believed they always embitter without ever converting.

It is true, he was averse to all those attempts at union which have been so loudly and so often talked about of late years, but the reason was, that he could see nothing in the signs of the times which gave him any hope of discovering a genuine *henoticum*, while in the greatest approximations to such a state, he perceived only a rigid indifference, or a thoughtless sportiveness of the imagination. He united in his labors with those Catholics who were devoted to the cause of truth, wrote a recommendatory preface to Leander Van Ess's translation of the Bible, and from the pulpit, charged his people to conduct with Christian forbearance towards those who thought differently from themselves,* and he enjoyed the high satisfaction of having pious Catholic writers and ministers from a distance, call to see him and hear him preach. He was not ignorant of the fact, that his printed sermons and his *Moral* were called for as much by Roman Catholics, as by his own denomination, and that his works were read in the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Vienna. Having always defended a firm rule of faith and the doctrines of the Bible as contained in the symbolical books of his church, without refining upon them or lowering them down, he was of course, preserved from difficulties, in which many honest Protestants, by giving themselves up to speculations, have been involved. In this respect, however, this persevering man, severely handled as he had been in some critical journals, for a sermon he preached a few years before,† had the

* See his sermon upon toleration, Jahrg. 1807. Th. II. S. 169. ff.

† This sermon which has been repeatedly referred to, and was translated into French by Dr. Blessig, produced a very great sensation when delivered, and called down severe censures and remarks upon its author. It is from Rom. 3: 23—25, and is entitled: *Our church should never forget that she owes her existence to the resuscitation of the doctrine of salvation through the free grace of God in Jesus Christ.* See the Sermons of 1800, Th. II. S. 270.

exalted satisfaction of seeing the erring, and those giddy with new doctrines come back to a more solid basis, and the periodicals of the day animated with a better spirit.

He expressed his opinion with undisguised boldness whenever piety required, or he thought it would prove the means of warning the unreflecting or improving the wicked; but, in all other cases, spoke with the greatest caution and reserve. Hence, he was always an excellent mediator and business-man, for exercising his talents in which respects he had almost daily opportunities in attending to numerous appeals made to him by able men connected with the universities and schools, in settling difficulties and balancing accounts with other persons, in overseeing these institutions, in specially superintending the two seminaries in Neustadt-Dresden and Weissenfels for country school-teachers, in making changes in the liturgy, in giving the opinions and plans required of him by Protestants in foreign countries with reference to new regulations and ecclesiastical improvements, and in maintaining a very extensive and highly valuable correspondence. To educate youth in such a manner as to make them better for better times, and render them useful citizens, was one of the objects which lay nearest his heart; and it was not seldom that his labors were productive of important effects in this respect. He rejoiced at the growth of the seminaries in Saxony for country school-teachers, and encouraged those, who either by calls or personal consecration, were actively engaged in their service. To this a Dinter and a Frisch could bear public testimony. The salaries of many of the country school masters were silently increased, while a remedy was provided for the inexcusable negligence of parents in sending their children to school, and by express approbation and sudden promotion, the co-operation of the clergy was every where secured; in the performance of which duties, he was often pained to discover the want of alacrity and conscientiousness with which many officers and magistrates conducted. With respect to the citizen schools as they are called, in the larger and smaller cities, which were under very bad regulations, he used to express himself without reserve. There were then at least a dozen cities in Saxony, whose Lyceums and Latin schools

were in a wretched condition and needed remodelling after the well organized citizen schools of Leipsic, Dresden, and Naumburg; but which, owing to the jealousy with which the right of patronage was guarded, it was impossible to touch. He rejoiced greatly on beholding the new fabric in Zittau, and the improvements made in female education in the captital and province. Thus this benevolent man continued to labor, hope and love; faithful to the sphere assigned to him, but limited only by his opportunities and talents in his efforts to do good, and his zeal continued with unremitting diligence until death. His king acknowledged his merits; for, in 1808, when Reinhard had received a very flattering call from the Prussian Court, he wrote to him declaring in the most positive terms the entire satisfaction he felt with the manner in which he had performed the duties of his station. In short, within the bounds of the most honest truth, we may say, that he made it his constant aim to become according to the old saying of Simonides, a square man in head, feet and hands.* Hence, he was a firm and unchangeable friend; and the case must have been severe indeed, which made him withdraw from one with whom he was well acquainted, and whom, as he supposed, he had thoroughly tried.

V. Reinhard's Habits, Character, &c.

'Reinhard,' says Tzschirner, 'presents us with a rare instance of glowing eloquence, combined with deep, extensive learning, and continued to the end of life. The question, therefore, how he became what so few have become, the powerful orator, while he was the thorough scholar, well deserves attention. Some suggestions may be made by way of answering it. Nature had endowed him to an almost equal degree with the powers of thought and imagination, so that he was capable both of intense thinking and deep feeling. These powers were cultivated by close and ceaseless application to the most improving studies. His education was strictly of a philosophical tendency. He read the Bible, history, and the ancients,

* See Plato's Protagoras, c. 72.

and attended to philosophical theology. He also applied himself closely to poetry, both the ancient poets and those of his own native country, and read them more or less to the close of life. While philosophy, therefore, the mother of eloquence, guided his investigations, nourished his powers, and extended his points of observation; poetry, to which like all glowing minds, he was thoroughly attached, though like Plato, he was wise enough to relinquish the poetic laurel, exerted her benign influence upon him, animated him, and warmed his heart. It should also be recollected that Reinhard studied philosophy by profession, and hence, practically, and not as a mere closet-scholar. Besides, he was always connected with the practical world and had a circle of learned and sympathizing friends around him. Of course, he was thus preserved from the gloom, inactivity, and dulness, so peculiar to closet-scholars, furnished with freedom of mind, and made acquainted with men and human affairs. All these things produced beneficial effects upon upon him, and served to develop his oratorical powers, expand and enrich his mind, and render him in almost every respect what Cicero requires an orator to be.* Much of his celebrity is no doubt to be attributed to the manner in which he was associated with his father in early life, initiated into the classics, and made acquainted with the choicest specimens of eloquence in antiquity. It is true, there were many defects in the education he received, both at home and abroad. Had not a providential circumstance thrown Haller's poems in his way, he would hardly have ever become master of his own native language. At the university too, he failed to attend to some of the most necessary studies. All this, however, only goes to prove the natural vigor of that mind which enabled him to supply all these defects and to become learned, eloquent and useful, to a degree seldom attained.'

The answer to the question, By what means did Reinhard, weak and sickly as he was, succeed in accomplishing so much? must be sought for in his self-control, temperance, regularity, and careful attention to business.

Always very severe towards himself, he had acquired

* De oratore, l. I. var. loc. in the person of Crassus.

such a habit of struggling with pain, as seldom to permit it to interrupt his labors. During his residence at the Gymnasium in Regensburg, he was twice brought down with a burning fever which almost deprived him of existence, and so weak was he, that his friends tried to persuade him to relinquish all thoughts of ever entering the ministry. His whole life at the university was a constant scene of struggling with poverty. He then had but a groat* a day to live upon, and often went entirely destitute of warm food. Nor did he fare much better during the commencement of his professorship at Wittemberg. Great earnings in this case were not to be thought of, so that notwithstanding the rich feasts daily presented to the mind, the poor body was often suffered to go empty. His self-denial in these respects united with his great efforts, in spite of the regularity of his life and the systematicalness of his studies, unquestionably created the germ of those stubborn corporeal diseases, which he bore for years in silence, but which, united with the misfortune he met with, in 1803, ultimately occasioned his death.

Under such circumstances would it have been strange, if he had been subject to hypochondria, misanthropy, and dissociableness? And yet with all his sickness, he experienced nothing of the fury of the present nervous age, or of hypochondria. The dominion which he had acquired over himself by early exercise, regular occupation, and pious moderation, had secured him against this demon, and will secure every one against it, who lives as Reinhard did. The uncommon greatness of the man, however, becomes still more conspicuous, when we consider, that, with all his inexorable severity and his efforts to conquer his stubborn body as he used to call it, he never became unsociable, averse to amusement, inaccessible, peevish, or strongly rigorous against himself. Every part of his conduct in these respects was that of a rational man and a Christian. He has indeed been accused of severity towards others. He has never been complained of, however, in this respect, except by idlers and voluptuaries, or those desirous of full reward for the most trifling merit; and with his self-control, diligence and moderation, to-

* Groschen, a little less than a groat.

wards such persons, he might justly be severe; though if he ever was so, it was only when the general prevalence of sloth and inactivity rendered it his duty to exhibit severity. At other times, he expressed himself respecting them only in harmless jokes and comparisons.*

He never paid any attention to the distinctions of property or employment in those who approached him, nor did he require those who addressed him, to use other titles than those peculiar to the forms of civility. Those who had important business to transact, conversed with him freely, and never saw any thing like displeasure on his countenance except when, by using a multiplicity of words, they robbed him of his precious time; for to him in this respect, laconism and definiteness were of very great importance. It is true, he did not call every one a friend; but then it should be recollected, that the man of deep human knowledge, who has had numerous doubts and acquired his insight into the intricacies of the heart, more by closely observing himself than associating with others, does not often suffer the abused name of friendship to pass through his lips; and hence, that appearance of open heartedness with which the men of the world too often dazzle, does not constitute a part of his character. Reinhard had attended carefully to the movements of the human heart,† and hence, was slow in confiding in man. The Cicilian poet whispered into his ear as it did into Cicero's: '*Live and learn not to trust, for this is the nerve of wisdom.*'‡ He scorned however to veil his mistrust with the polished mask of the man of the world. Nor did this prove prejudicial to the goodness and innocence of his character. The pure heart cannot give itself up freely and happily to a man's friendship, until it has tried him; and as soon as Reinhard had done so, he evinced himself susceptible of the most noble, generous, and joyful im-

* He frequently compared idlers and voluptuaries with the Phæaces of Homer. It is probably owing to the severity of Reinhard's character, that he was often complained of, as haughty and proud. Those who made these complaints were certainly unacquainted with the man.

† To be convinced of this, compare Jahrg. 1796, Pred. I. 249, entitled, *Every man has his value*, a sermon said to be one of the most perfect that modern eloquence has produced; also the preface to the 2d ed. of these serm. S. VIII, and his very valuable work already mentioned, respecting a trifling spirit.

‡ Polybius, Vol. VIII. p. 375, ed. Schweigh.

pressions, possessed of every genuine, social virtue, and capable of giving and receiving all the spice of life. Seriousness constituted his prevailing trait and generally sat upon his countenance, but never to such a degree as to frighten others away from him or disturb their pleasure. He embraced the whole human family in his grasp of philanthrophy and fraternal love, was often deeply affected on reading the events of a newspaper, sympathized in every thing relative to the learned, his fellow citizens, his friends, and the great fable of man,* and would gladly, were it in his power, have blended all the interests of those whom he knew so well how to describe, into one.

He was a spirited companion and excellent in conversation. The weapons of dialectics which he knew how to use with such effect in his examinations and oratorical exercises, in such cases also served him an excellent purpose, furnished him with witty turns and remarks, and rendered him victorious without wounding. His faithful memory retained an abundance of pleasing and interesting narratives which he told with great animation and effect, and he was daily drawing new ones from reading the ancients and moderns, and hence, was in no danger of making repetitions. He was very agreeable in jesting, and fond of pithy turns and witty remarks on public occasions, and had a quiver full of them himself, though he made a cautious use of them; by taking which course, he preserved his own dignity, and always remained within the bounds of the strictest politeness, while he added to the enjoyment of the table. At the richest meals he never transgressed the bounds of moderation, and oftener than otherwise suffered plates, dishes and salvers to pass by him untouched, frequently saying in the confidential circle of his friends, that he did not live to eat, but he eat to live. Hence, on such occasions, he had more time for conversation than most persons, and he improved it, being as Cicero says of himself, a man of less food than wit. His house was a temple of hospitality, genuine but not splendid. He usually partook of a Socratic meal at home, for he was unwilling to accept of invitations to go out on account of the

* Hanc quasi fabulam eventorum nostrorum, Cicero ad Div. V. 12, 19.

loss of time it occasioned. There in his own little company he exhibited his open heartedness and joyful demeanor, and diffused pleasure throughout the room.

He was ever active in business, but his activity was not of a tumultuous, extravagant character, reckless of the laws of nature, and calculated to exhaust and ultimately annihilate the body. On the other hand, the day was divided into the most regular order, and in such a manner as to save the most time. Every hour had its destination. From this order, he was always unwilling to deviate. As soon as the hour arrived he went about his business, as soon as it had elapsed, he left it; nor could the choicest company chain him beyond the stated period. Nor was he mechanical in his habits of this kind, for his labors were alternated with reading, writing, study, walking, &c., so that the day was agreeably diversified, while his strength was preserved from one day and hour to another for regularly prosecuting his work.*

He awoke precisely at six o'clock, and arose without fail as soon as he awoke. The winter produced no change in this respect. The first succeeding hour was devoted to his most difficult and sacred task,—to committing to memory the sermon which he was next to deliver, which he began to rehearse on the morning after he last preached, and which had been written a week beforehand. As soon as he had entered his study, he repeated what he had gotten by heart, in order to connect it immediately with what followed. While he was going through this process, he took a cup of coffee, and a servant entered and dressed his hair, which he had never been able to exchange for a peruke, notwithstanding the violent remonstrances made with him at first, respecting it.† When this was done, he dressed himself without the aid of a servant, preferring in this respect to maintain the simple habits of his earlier years, and that independence for which the Greeks and princes of the heroic age were so distinguished. When

* Tzschirner's Briefe, I.

† Reinhard brought back to Saxony the custom of Clergymen's wearing their own hair. His want of a peruke excited loud murmurings when he first entered the faculty at Wittemberg. He replied, however, by pointing to the pictures of the great reformers, and showing that the custom of wearing false hair could not be supported by history.

this division of the day had elapsed he passed to reading the Scriptures, to him always the word of God, with which he consecrated himself to the work before him, and often connected a prayer, that they might be formed in his soul in spirit and in truth. For this purpose he usually selected some definite portion of the New Testament. The Psalms and the prophet Isaiah were his favorite books in the Old Testament. On such occasions, having a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects, he always used the original languages, and he derived as great and varied pleasure from this exercise, as a philologist does from the perusal of a favorite Greek or Latin poet for the fifth or the tenth time. It was the divine character of what he read, however, which gave him his greatest pleasure, animated his heart, and rendered this a truly devotional exercise. To reading the Scriptures immediately succeeded the labor of his calling, such as reflection, and composing a sermon, to which work he usually applied the last half of the week, as then he had no sessions to attend, or reading the acts for the church and the chief consistory. During the three days of the session, the rest of the morning was usually devoted to the sessions of the board. The last hour of the forenoon, during the two first days of the week when there were no sessions, was statedly devoted to speaking. During the few moments allotted to dinner, he usually gave the latest political newspapers a hasty examination, and twice a week spent some time after dinner in reading the latest public journals. On other days, this time, wasted by so many in the arms of sleep, was chiefly spent in reading history. In every thing new that came before him, he always distinguished what he had read through, from what he had merely turned over. Whenever he found any thing worthy of an attentive perusal, he noted it down in a book kept for the purpose, a practice which he continued until his last sickness, but of what he hastily passed over, he took no notice. He seldom took notes of any thing he read, except when it had some bearing upon his *Christian Ethics*. This arose in part from his frugality of time, and in part from the confidence he had in the goodness of his memory for retaining matters of fact. Towards

three o'clock, he returned to writing and other business. If his health permitted, during the latter part of the afternoon he took an excursion in the open air,—an excursion which he was unwilling to omit even in unfavorable weather, but which, to save time and shun observation, he often took in the evening. While at Wittemberg, after his marriage, when he had a carriage at command, he usually took a short ride with his friend Schöckh, in the open air, in the course of the afternoon. During the earlier part of his residence at Dresden, in compliance with the precepts of physicians and in obedience to the universal prescription so much extolled by Klopstock, he substituted riding on horseback for walking, being furnished with a surefooted horse out of the royal stables for this purpose, but after the breaking of his leg in 1803, he could never be induced to mount a horse again, though he was earnestly intreated to do so, especially by his beloved brother-in-law, Lieut.General Baron v.Thielmann,who promised to be his faithful guardian, and a compliance with the request would doubtless have prolonged his valuable life. He always found these excursions invigorating and refreshing, and well calculated to prepare him for the enjoyment, if not of a painless and undisturbed, yet of a tolerable night's repose.

In the summer, which Reinhard generally spent at his residence in Wilsdruf one of the suburbs of Dresden, he used to walk for an hour about six or seven in the evening, up and down in his garden. Susceptible as he was of all the beauties of nature, he considered this a most delightful retreat. Here he was surrounded with the choicest of Flora's children, collected together from all climates, each in its proper place inviting him to silent contemplation, especially the pink, carnation and tulip, with whose ever varying beauties he was particularly delighted. In one part of it, there was a circular arch, formed of the thick foliage of leaves, in the midst of which there was a living spring. Here, beneath the cooling shade, during the warm evenings of summer, the tea-table was set, around which, a few confidential friends united in social intercourse. On the one hand, it was adorned with works of art, on the other with an apiary and its busy inmates.

Not far off, stood a green house, in which there was a cabinet easy, to be warmed through, to which resort was had in the cold days of the season.* Of course, Reinhard was driven from this pleasant retreat in the winter, but he found an excellent substitute for it in his library, in the upper apartment of his official residence in the city, which was now nearer at hand. This he considered as his treasure-chamber, and going up to it and returning from it furnished him with agreeable exercise. It contained not a single useless production, was well selected, received continual additions, and, together with his papers, was always kept in the highest order.

When Reinhard had no guests to wait upon, he usually passed the evening in reading or writing in his study, almost always pursuing the same order, until about eight o'clock; when he was called to his frugal repast. During this time, he wrote his more important letters. Those of his letters relating merely to visits and the duties of his office, he dispatched in those fragments of time which others idle away.

Reinhard however had a great number of letters to write upon theological, literary, and other important subjects, which were altogether dry and unattractive, and yet required extensive preparatory investigation. Saxony, long distinguished for her men of learning and acuteness, had had more literary characters than any other German state, in whom had been awakened the desire of authorship. Called as he was by the station he occupied, to exercise a general superintendence over the institutions of the country, it was natural that his opinion should be sought for by all who carried this desire into effect. Hence, of almost every work great or small, in his department, published in Saxony, and of many published in foreign countries, during the last twenty years of his life, numerous as they were, he received a copy from the proprietor or author, with an earnest request for a preliminary notice or essay. With critical institutes, from the moment he became general superintendent, he refused to have any thing to do. To the re-

* A very minute description is given by Böttiger, of Reinhard's garden, which seems to have been an elegant one, and was occasionally honored with poetical descriptions in Latin.

quests he thus received, however, he conscientiously attended, without respect to person, knowledge or country; for he made it an invariable rule to write a friendly letter to every author of such requests, in which he either approved of the work or kindly pointed out its errors; and many there are in Saxony and elsewhere, who must acknowledge themselves greatly indebted to his counsel and encouragement in this respect. Foreign sermons were the only things he was unwilling to meddle with, though, being *censor* for Dresden, it was his duty to do so, and he has often been accused of negligence with respect to these publications; but called upon to examine thousands of works as he was every year, it was natural that an occasional sermon should sometimes escape his notice. To all this, add the advice in cases of conscience, which was often required of him, especially by persons of rank; the numerous letters he received in consultation respecting ecclesiastical and literary affairs, to all which he gave detailed, conscientious replies, and often with the happiest results; and it will be easy to perceive that his correspondence was very extensive and required much time.

Reinhard's supper was as simple as his dinner. He drank nothing but a glass of wine mixed with some water and seldom eat of more than one dish, though several were set on the table. At tea, he usually met with friends, and strangers from a distance, who, passing through the place, had called upon him as a matter of old acquaintance or by letters of recommendation, with whom he indulged in lively conversation and pleasing turns and remarks. "Thanks to God," he used to say, on such occasions, "sanctify, and pleasing conversation adds spice to, every dish." After tea, if no visiters were present, he used to play a few tunes upon a harpsichord which always stood in his parlor, in doing which, he generally gave himself up to his own imagination. As he was very fond of sacred songs and by the selections he made of hymns for his sermons, showed that he knew when they were lyrical, and used frequently to play some fine choral song, always singing as he played, from the strain of his music it was in general easy to ascertain the discord or the harmony of the deep-

est feelings of his soul, and the general character of the thoughts which occupied his mind. Often, when in writing or meditation, he found himself perplexed with a train of thought or unable to develop it with sufficient clearness, he ran out to his harpsichord in the parlor, and generally not in vain; for a few touches upon it reduced every thing to calmness and regularity. After preaching also, he used to refresh himself by playing some spiritual voluntary upon this instrument, giving himself up to the feelings which pervaded his heart. An accomplished musician or player he did not pretend to be. In his youth while at Regensburg, in private concerts, he had played the second violin, and under the instruction of the distinguished Küstner, had made considerable progress in playing upon the harpsichord. Afterwards, however, the serious business of life left him no time or desire for playing agreeably to the rules of art. He generally closed the evening by reading, or causing his wife to read for him, some easy, enlightening, soothing piece; this presenting him with the advantage of permitting all effort to cease, and agreeably preparing the way for sleep. Only when greatly pressed with business, and hence, in extraordinary cases, did he take up his pen after supper. By the rules of his harmonious and strictly regulated life, all study by the midnight lamp was wholly forbidden.

Reinhard never had any children of his own, but yet he showed himself in the tenderest sense, the child's friend. Several of his sermons, particularly those preached on fasts and the assembling of the Diet, treat expressly of the education of children, and contain genuine Christian rules for governing them in a proper manner, though, for reasons easy to be comprehended, he always laughed at the numerous pompous professions of modern pedagogics, and felt some distrust in Pestalozzi's method of instruction, at least in the universality of its application. He always embraced the diligent youth of the high school at Pforte in the arms of real paternal love and called them his sons. For many of the youth in the schools and universities of the country, he exhibited the assiduous and faithful care of a father. Like all men distinguished for their greatness and goodness, he delighted to

see the pure happiness and the simple plays of active little children. Only a few days before his death, he spent some time with a kind lad, one of his relatives, who had been brought up almost under his eye, in urging him to attend to pious instruction, as he was one year older. To those in want he was always very liberal. Many were the calls he received from the wretched who awaited for him in their places as he passed along the street, nor were they ever left unsatisfied. From the pecuniary aid thrown into charity boxes on particular days on which he preached, he had for good reasons as he thought, added to the amount of his spending money, until it enabled him to support one hundred and twenty poor people. The assistance, however, which he received in this way was very small, and he increased it by various extraordinary contributions. His name was to be found on every subscription list for a benevolent object, and in liberal terms. He did not confine his benevolence, however, to the poor with whom he was immediately surrounded. He sent forth his contributions in every quarter, for, from all quarters he received pressing solicitations for contributions. Many in urging their claims upon him, might degenerate into obtrusiveness, but he gave still. Ingratitude did not cause him to err, or withdraw his kindness. Respecting the worthiness or the unworthiness of the objects of his charity, he seldom entered into any very minute or extensive examination. The man needs it now! that satisfied Reinhard; for though he honored nice calculations and inquiries in booksellers and the stewards of public institutions of benevolence, he did not in the giver. Whenever contributions were called for to meet wants created by some great and sudden calamity, whether at home or abroad, he always came forward among the first and most generous. The fire at Regensburg in 1809, and the powder explosion at Eisenach in 1810, excited his most tender sympathy. To Luther's monument, however, he contributed very unwillingly and only a single piece of money; 'for,' said he, 'every new reformation festival and every verse of his translation of the Bible, renders this superfluous.' Indeed, he foretold the fate of this contribution with almost prophetical certainty, for it

was lost in and with Magdeburg. He contributed with the greatest generosity and pleasure, however, to the support of new schools and institutions of instruction, and, though he considered the system of giving stipends as in many respects defective, as it gives rise to abuses and hypocritical pretensions, yet he yearly disposed of considerable sums by way of stipends to poor students, who were either his godchildren or had been recommended to him.

To selfishness, that rust of little souls, as well as to envy, prejudice, and partiality in promotion, this great man was equally a stranger. Indeed, he was often heard to speak with satisfaction of the fact that he was childless, and as a stranger, must be entirely free from the most gently whispered suspicion of having favored his relatives. The man who conducted as the *fittest* and worthiest, God only being thoroughly acquainted with the heart, was always his favorite. Such an one he considered as his friend, while he counselled, recommended, and assisted him as far as it was in his power. He seldom took any thing for performing the duties of his office. Whatever he received in this way, he almost always handed over to the colleagues next to him in rank in the evangelical Court Church. He would scarcely ever receive any thing but books from his publishers for some of his choicest productions. All that he required of them was, to sell his works at a moderate price. They did so, and this accounts for the increase made in the price of subsequent editions. Indeed, he almost absolutely and unconditionally gave many of them away. The sum of three hundred dollars, which, according to the constitution, he received for every sermon he preached on the assembling of the Diet, he devoted to some pious object. In 1811, he disposed of it as a small premium-fund for diligent *alumni*, at St. Afra. For a sermon which he delivered on the third Advent Sunday in the University Church at Leipsic, in 1808, he was offered various and large sums, but he disposed of it for a work which was not in the university library, but which was to be presented to it by the publisher. Of course, he never made mention of these circumstances.

Reinhard had exalted views of the marriage state.

Upon this subject he was wont to say with Luther, one of his favorite authors; 'a pious, humble, sympathizing and domestic wife, with whom a man can live satisfied and happy, and to whom he can intrust his property and whatever he has, yea his life and body, is one of the highest and best gifts of God.'* Of the truth of this he was well convinced from experience;† for he had two wives in the course of his life, who constantly stood by him, and, like genii, attended to all his wants; without whose aid it would have hardly been possible for him to attain to such perfection as he actually did, in observing the principles of virtue and happiness which he had selected as the rule of his conduct. His first wife was the widow of the learned theologian, John Chr. Schmid of Wittemberg, his former teacher and friend, well known‡ even in foreign countries, for his application of his knowledge of French to theological purposes, and his defence of the Canon of the sacred Scriptures. Reinhard had been an inmate of this man's family and derived much benefit from intercourse with him and access to his select library. He was well known therefore to Mrs. Schmid, who, on the death of her husband, considered this poor young professor, then just entering his academical career, splendidly distinguished as he was for his lectures, and remarkably strict and exemplary in attending to religion and the performance of his duties, as of all others the most deserving of her hand; and hence, resolved to go with him through life. The marriage was a happy one, though not of long continuance, for Reinhard lost her and her son, whom he loved exceedingly, and had taken great pains to instruct, the second year after his removal to Dresden. She possessed a feeble constitution, but a well-educated and matured mind, united with nobleness of soul, sound judgment, and a discriminating knowledge of men and things, and was highly interest-

* See Bredow's Katharine von Boren, Minerva aufs Jahr. 1813, S. 327.

† See his precious sermon *Respecting a disposition for the domestic virtues*, (vom Sinne für die Häuslichkeit,) Jahrg. 1801, I. 47, with which compare his *Moral*, III, 309—461; IV. 694.

‡ Saxii Onomasticum, T. VII, p. 222 ff.

ing and profitable in conversation.* To the not inconsiderable property which she brought with her, Reinhard was indebted for the greater security and independence he enjoyed after her death in those relations of life which he was called to sustain.

For his second wife, Reinhard selected the daughter of Von Charpentier, captain of the mines, and immortal as a mineralogist and metallurgist in the annals of Freyberg, and the history of the art of mining. She was of a family distinguished for the union of uprightness and hospitality with the finest sense of art, and frequented by men of genius from both the north and the south of Germany,—was amiable, full of soul, blessed with excellencies of body and mind, and adorned with the female virtues. She carefully studied the character of her husband, and endeavored to render his troublesome life, easy, useful and happy. Indeed, as Reinhard's study door generally stood open, so that his study and parlor constituted as it were but one room, she may be said to have been always present with him while he was engaged in his domestic business; never interrupting him, but ever faithful, watchful, and tenderly attentive to his wants. He could not feel solitary while she was about him. Sometimes she acted as his librarian, and directed his letters, at others as his travelling marshal.† She read, sung, or played to him on the harpsichord to comfort him when weary, and watched over him with the tenderest, most affectionate solicitude in his sickness; and to the last moment of his life, seldom calling to her aid the assistance of others, but presenting herself daily and hourly at his bedside, in a manner which fully evinced the real pleasure she felt in being there. To her extraordinary efforts in taking care of Reinhard, we

* He doubtless had her in view, when he wrote the passage: Animadverti feminas—celeritate iudicii viris non raro et multum antecellere; *Opusc. Acad.* II. 177 seqq.

† Reinhard practised what he himself has recommended in a physical and ascetical respect, (Moral, IV. 618 ff.,) as a means of restoring and invigorating the system; namely, journeying. From 1795 to 1803, he made a journey every summer, in addition to those which he was obliged to make in performing the duties of his office, and always in company with his faithful and beloved wife. On one of these occasions, he formed an acquaintance with the Moravian Brethren; on another, visited his native place; on a third, renewed the scenes of his youth at Regensburg or Ratisbon as it is usually called in English; on a fourth visited a sister, married to a clergyman settled in Lower Saxony; and in 1802, he visited Vienna, where he spent several weeks,—a journey which he afterwards ever mentioned with the greatest satisfaction.

are, humanly speaking, indebted for the preservation of his life from the year 1803,* and the blessing he proved during a space of nine years, in preaching, writing and other labors, not only to Saxony, but to the whole Protestant world. With justice did he call her his guardian angel. Often in moments of severe anguish did he speak of her in grateful terms, and as his end drew near, return thanks to God for having sent him such a faithful nurse to pray and suffer with him, alleviate his pains and fill him with such joy and consolation. Nor will others soon forget her. Wherever the German language is spoken, Reinhard's sermons produce their legitimate effects upon the heart, and any are left to rejoice at his lengthened activity, the name of Ernestine Reinhard and her domestic devotion will be mentioned with reverence and gratitude.

But here we must draw this imperfect account to a close and take our leave of Reinhard and the reader. We might indeed dwell longer upon his character with delight, but time and space forbid. 'What has been said respecting him,' says Böttiger in the preface to the work from which most of the preceding account has been taken, 'has been drawn from the most authentic sources. I have been intimately acquainted with him since 1804, and have conscientiously endeavored to exhibit him as he appeared to me. He was indeed a man and doubtless sometimes erred, but I have never discovered a secret fault in him, and half of Europe acknowledges his excellence as a Christian and a scholar. With him theory and practice were united. He had not two coats or two faces, one for private life and another for the public. He did not speak every thing he thought, but he always thought as he spake, and was consistent in his convictions and actions, until death. His most bitter enemies have never suspected him of being influenced by selfishness, and all my acquaintance with him goes to prove what I hope has already been rendered apparent, that his activity did not originate in ambition, but in the most conscientious zeal for the cause of God and the good of man.'

He was distinguished for wonderful activity and genuine

* He has erected a public memorial to her care and assiduity in watching over him while he was confined in Chemnitz in 1803, during which painful season, she was his only nurse, day and night. See Jahrg. 1804, Pred. I. S. 16.

piety, a childlike goodness and amiableness of heart, as any one must be convinced who has attended to what has been said respecting him,—was always mild towards others but severe towards himself, and marked with genuine humility. True Christian feeling pervaded his very soul. He resembled John in love, and Paul in zeal and firmness. A sincere minister he used to say, must, like the coat of Christ, be without seam or patch-work. He made it his object from his earliest years, to exhibit a holy and just consistency in acting according to immutable principles, and to maintain that uniformity of character through life, which is so much extolled by Cicero. Hence, he was utterly averse to all half measures whether in great things or small, even in improving the liturgy; firmly opposed those notions which make virtue a periodical concern graduated by the thermometer of effervescing feelings; could not tolerate that prolixity which creeps around duties and promises, and hated inactivity as the very gate of Hades. Humble before God and man, and from his heart convinced of the imperfection of all human efforts, his only wish was, to work while it was day, and to be found engaged in his master's business. To man the holy ardor of his soul has ceased to glow, the powers of his mind to expand. All that was mortal of him has been conveyed away from the view of weeping friends and mourning thousands, to the silent tomb. His sun has ceased to shine, but it has gone out in the surpassing splendor of the Sun of righteousness. His example, however, still lives upon earth. In his own eloquent language we may say of him: "Noble friend of truth and goodness, God has called thee, but death shall not stop thy influence. From generation to generation shall the light which thou hast enkindled and increased, stream forth in new and more brilliant rays. From generation to generation shall the feeling which thou hast excited, the virtue which thou hast planted, the piety which thou hast cherished, the Christian love which thou hast extended abroad, remain rich and inexhaustible sources of blessing to mankind, and continue to exert their benign, their hallowed influence, when thy name has faded from the world."*

* Jahrg. 1801, Th. I. S. 449. This passage was repeated at the solemnization of Reinhard's death in Chemnitz, Dec. 20, 1812, and produced a visible effect. It is from Mark 16. 14—20, and treats of the salutary influence which should be exerted by Christians upon earth after their death.

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